BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

A Newspaper in Marathi
Founded by
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
in April 1927

Translated into English by
Dr. B. R. Kamble

PART THREE

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
Research Institute in Social Growth
Kolhapur

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT
(Untouchable India)
Founded by
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
&
Translated into English by
Dr. B. R. Kamble

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Dedicated to

Barr. P. G. Patil

a Doyen Among The educationists

in Modern Maharashtra

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- Prof. B. R. Kamble

INTRODUCTION

East India Company, a trading company of Great Britain started its rule by conquering Bengal, Bihar and Orissa after the battle of Plassey in 1757. The Plassey episode was an event which inaugurated an altogether new age in the history of India. The administrative system that the company introduced and maintained with reforms whenever necessary was not only the unique thing but was also unparallel to the any administrative system of India in her past.

The company's administration as a system began when it implemented the Regulating Act passed by the British parliament in 1773. The provisions of the Act were important. The whole civil and military government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were vested in a Governor General and his Council consisting of four members. They were to hold office for five years. Their successors were to be appointed by the court of Directors of the East India Company in England. The Governor General and the Council were empowered to make rules ordinances and regulations.

In the Judicial Sphere the most important feature of the Regulating Act was the creation of the Supreme Court in Calcutta. It was to be a King's court not the company's court. It consisted of chief justice and the two other Judges appointed by the English Crown. It had civil, military, criminal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The state governors were not to make war or peace normally without the consent of the Governor General. This was the first step to establish central authority in company affairs in India. Formerly three presidencies Bombay, Madras and Calcutta acted independently and were responsible only to court of Directors in England.

According to Pitts Act of 1784 Madras and Bombay had a governor and council of three members including the commander in chief of the provincial army. The Governor General and the council were empowered to superintend, control and direct the subordinate governments in all issues. The subordinate governments were made bound to obey the order of the supreme government except in case of the direct order of the authority from England.

The Charter Act of the company which was renewed after every 20 years emphatically stated while renewing it in 1813 that the sovereignty over the Indian Territory belongs to the crown and not to the East India Company. The Act permitted that:-

(1) All the traders to trade with the East

(2) The Missionaries were permitted to carry on their missionary activity.

(3) The Governor was allowed to spend Rs. one Lakh to promote oriental studies.

The charter Act of 1833 made the Governor of Bengal the Governor General of India. Financial and the legislative authority were vested in the Governor General in council for whole of India. The revenue of whole of India was made the single fund under the governor General in council. For improving Governor General's legislative machinery Governor General's council was enlarged by appointing an additional member who was a legal expert and was to work in the council only while making law.

The charter Act of 1853 took away the right of appointing civil servants by the Board of Directors and the Board of control of the company. They were henceforth to be recruited through competitive examination. Dalhousie who was the

Governor General that time opined that this provision has passed the death sentence upon the company rule. Then occurred the Mutiny of 1857. It failed Indians in their attempt to rise against the British power militarily and convinced the right thinking men in India that the armed rising against the English rulers is not the correct means to mend or end the British rule in India.

An idea also dawned on British rulers that the Mutiny was an unthinkable tragedy and such a tragedy should never repeat itself again. The British statesmen thought that the tragedy occurred only because of their non-understanding of Indians and some of the thinking men in India also thought that it was due to their failure to understand the military character of the English Government in India.

Therefore, it was made clear while transferring Indian government from the East India Company of share holders to the English Parliament that no discrimination of any kind will be made against Indians while governing India. It meant that the India will be of Indians but governed by the English people, with consent of the Indian people at least in some degree.

The Act of 1858 declared that all the territories and the revenues have been transferred to the crown of England and the revenue such accrued shall be disposed of for the purpose of the government of India. The Act also provided for the appointment of the secretary of state with his council who with the aid of his council was to govern India in the name of her majesty and wield all the power and authority hitherto exercised by the Board of control of the East India Company. The appointment of the Governor General and other governors of the provinces are to be made by the crown. All treaties, agreements laws etc. hitherto made by the company will continue. The crown assumed the power on 1st November 1858 organizing Darbar at Allahabad by Lord Caning the first viceroy and Governor General of India.

The proclamation assured that "all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of law, freedom of religious belief and worship and guaranteed to all subjects equality in respect of the services. It was also assured that the government will stimulate Industry, to promote works of public utility and administer the government for the benefit of all the people. The people's happiness will be their happiness. The grant of amnesty was also assured in case of these who rebelled against the government."

Though this proclamation was repeated on several important occasions for many years the English bureaucracy in India never took it seriously, reverse was the state of affairs in practice. Its violation began with the fixation of the salaries. The salary that the English officer used to get was four times beggar than the salary of the Indian officer of the same post.

The British Parliament remained aloof from Indian affairs due to its involvement in the affairs of Ireland and in other European affairs and also due to no communication facility between India and England until installing the cable for telegraphic purpose in 1867. English Parliamentarians trusted the men on the spot. Parliament trusted the secretary of state who received even his payment from the treasury of India. The secretary of state trusted the Governor General and the viceroy, viceroy trusted the administration of the Indian provinces and provincial government trusted the District officers. The secretary of state was provided with a council of members and the Indian affairs were largely left to the charge of them. There were 15 members in it who discussed whatever matter the secretary of state referred to them. The council could discuss only those problems which the secretary of state could bring before it.

India's Demand for Abolition of the Council

Indian enlightened men opposed the existence of the council in England right from its bringing in 1858. The Indian criticism against the council became quite acute particularly after the foundation of Indian National Congress. The congress in its very first session demanded for its abolition as the first act of reform.

Wedderburn who presided over Indian National Congress in Bombay of the year 1889 said that "it is from that act of 1858 our principle misfortune began. There were two advantages for us under the rule of East India Company. First was that the English Parliament was jealous of the profit making private company and second was that after every 20 years the charter act of the company needed its renewal by the Parliament. Now both these safeguards are lost to us. When Morley had decided to appoint two Indians on the council other members in the council opposed his move very bitterly. In 1914 Lord Crew made efforts to appoint two non-official Indian members to the council but did not succeed. The council continued in spite of all opposition to its existence by the Indians.

But the genuine and crucial issue in India was the council of governor general which began its life from the act of 1773. In the beginning it was governor general's council but slowly it developed into two wings one as governor general's executive wing and another as legislative wing. When wider part of the country was conquered the British administration found the laws of the country in utter confusion. Lord Macaulay was added as law member and he exclusively participated as law member and from the charter Act of 1853 there was some members nominated who used to sit and participate only while making laws.

Parliament passed an Act in 1874 by which the number of ordinary members was raised from 5 to 6. No Indian was admitted to the council even as an ordinary member before 1909, the council held the meetings of two kinds i.e. meeting for transaction of executive business and the meeting for the purpose of making laws and regulations. The terms executive council and legislative council were used for these two specific purposes.

By the government of India Act 1858 the British Parliament entrusted to the secretary of state the work by which the whole system of government in India was operated. However, for practical convenience the system itself remained with the Governor General in council. The provincial Governments were mere agents of the government of India; they had no innate power of their own.

Although there was no statutory separation of powers between the Government of India and the provincial governments the government of India retained in its own hands the important subjects such as Foreign Affairs; Defense; General Taxation; currency; Public Dept; Tariffs; Post and Telegraphs; Railways And Accounts & Auditing.

The remaining subjects such as ordinary Internal Administration; Police; Civil and Criminal Justice; Prisons, Land Revenue; Education; Medical and Sanitary Arrangements; Irrigations; Buildings and Roads and Municipal and Rural Board were left to the provincial Governments. But these were also subject to government of India's control though the government of India rarely interfered in them.

There was no statutory provision for nominating any non-official Indian as a member of the council, Sir Charles Wood argued that it was impossible to constitute representative law making body in India. For real representative of the various classes of the native population of that empire could not be found. After passing the Act of 1861 he (Wood) directed the Governor General to select the Non-official additional members from among Europeans and natives from all parts of India. By the term intelligent native gentlemen he did not mean the politically conscious spokesman of the educated classes. He meant the native chiefs such as the rulers and the ministers of the princely states and the big land holders. It has been rightly said that these nominated members used to laugh when the Governor General laughed; they used to clap when the Governor General clapped, and they used to yawn when the Governor General yawned. It was also said that many of them did not attend and those that accepted the offer did not regularly attend the council meetings. Many of them did not understand the English language. Many of them remained indifferent due to their ignorance of procedure of rules and regulations. Those who were well educated and politically conscious had formed some organization like Madras Mahajan Sabha, Bombay Native Association, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Bengal Association etc. They used to send petitions to the government over the problems that they thought as serious and the government should attend to those. This was so particularly in 1860's and 70's just before the foundation of Indian National Congress.

English Education spread rapidly particularly in the presidency towns in the commercial and trade centre and in the head quarters of the administrative centre's all over the country in the last decades of the 19th century. The leading men who founded the Indian National Congress and promoted its cause were all highly English educated men who exhibited deep knowledge on their part of English institutions and Indian problems. They were all enamoured with one thing and that was the representative institutions of Great Britain. These leaders had their eyes fixed on the Governor General's executive and legislative councils which made laws and ruled the country. Therefore to reform these two bodies by participation of the Indians in the functioning and moulding was the main issue around which centered the struggle in India. In the beginning it was silently done in the prayer form in the early years of the Indian National Congress. But within 20 years the congress and its method of agitation changed.

The Indian National Congress also paid its attention to the treatment meted out to the Indian immigrants in other British colonies. The congress used to speak about its concern every year in its annual conference. Lala Lajapat Rai wrote a pathetic account of the treatment that the Indian workers, merchants and others who received ignoble treatment at the hands of English people in their colonies like South Africa. He wrote that "Indians carried the badge of political subjection with film. The British colonies more than any other country bang their door on him. He is a pariah all over the world."

The moderates somehow retained the Indian National Congress with them even after Surat split. Feroz Shah Mehta, Dinsha Wacha and Rash Behari Ghose met at Allahabad and prepared a constitution for the congress in which they clearly specified that the object of the congress was the attainment of Swarajya within British Empire to be achieved by constitutional means and by gradual reform of the existing system of administration.

Under the new constitution the congress met in Madras under the chairmanship of Rash Behari Ghose in 1908. And it was at this congress Swadeshi Movement was supported without any restriction and the atrocities in South Africa were condemned.

The goal which the educated classes kept in view was a position for their country in the empire worthy of self-respect of a civilized people.

The Morley-Minto reform did not affect any change in the position of the legislative councils. They remained as before subordinate only to the executive councils or executive governments. The resolutions of the legislative councils were not binding on the government. The legislative councils were only advisory bodies. Implementation of their resolutions depended only upon the sweet will of the executive government.

Muslim Hostility: - The Muslims remained hostile to the British rule for a long time as it was from the Mughals that the East India Company had conquered the country. The English government replaced Urdu and Persian by English language as the language of administration and education in 1833. Hindus welcomed English rule which relieved them from the tyranny of the Muslim rule. The Muslims were excluded from government services and the army for a long time.

In 1873 an English medium Muslim school was started at Aligarh and later and on an English medium college was founded in January 1877 and Lord Lytton the Governor General inaugurated it. Within a decade collage made tremendous progress. In ten years time the product of Muslim Aligarh Oriental collage as it was called came to the front to lead the Muslim community in public affairs like political and socio-religious life. Sir Sayyad Ahamad Khan was the founder of this educational movement.

Sayyad Ahamad Khan's open opposition to congress brought him support of many English bureaucrats who helped him in bringing support of many Muslim zamindars who were anxious to have some medium to express their support to British administration. Another important cause was the anti-cow killing agitation of the Hindus which directly worked against the Muslims. This factor helped for the religious affinities of the Muslims with the cow-flesh eating Christians-British also.

Khan openly opposed the Indian National congress and warned the Muslims to be away from it. If the Muslims involved in any agitation against the British, he warned, that there might be the repetition which occurred in 1857. The Muslims will definitely gain if they do not give any doubt of suspicion about their loyalty to the British bureaucrats.

Indian National Congress in its first session had demanded the enlargement of the legislative councils through election and permission to ask questions even on budgets and the creation of similar councils for the North western frontier province and Punjab. It had also prayed for holding civil service examinations simultaneously both in England and India.

These demands led to the controversy between the Hindus and the Muslims and between the congress and the English Indian bureaucracy. Sayyad Khan attacked Indian National congress on the eve of its Calcutta session of 1886 as seditious.

The president of the second congress defined the goal of the congress as purely political and it was a purely political body. It will deal only with political matters on which the people are united.

According to Sayyad Khan:

1. Hindus and the Muslims are the two different nations.
2. Representative institutions are unsuited to India.
3. It will be beneficial for Muslims to rely on British administration for their advantage.

Theodor Beck become the principal in 1883 at Aligarh and played the card of almost indoctrinating the students. The army before Mutiny was a mixed army. Sayyad's view was that had it been a caste wise army the Mutiny would not occurred. The mixed caste army produced a kind of unity and brotherhood in the army. Some English bureaucrats were also of the same opinion. Lord Kichner who came as army commander did his work at the close of the century. Some bureaucrats pleaded leniency toward Muslims who had participated in Mutiny. Copland has stated that towards the close of the last decade it witnessed the end of the decline of the Muslims and the beginning of their recovery. The bureaucracy was firm in its view that British rule in India was not by consent but was by conquest.

Partition of Bengal:

The partition of Bengal which was proposed was condemned by the congress in its meetings during 1903-04. In early 1905 some of its members proposed to wait upon the viceroy but he refused to oblige them.

G. K. Gokhale and Lala Lajapat Rai were sent to England to plead the case against partition before the members of the parliament but they too returned empty handed. The congress under Dadabhai Nauroji supported the Swadeshi and boycott in 1906 and Swarajya was declared as the goal by Nauroji. Two Non-Bengal leaders Tilak and Lala Lajapat Rai gave their ungrudging support to the boycott and Swadeshi Movement.

During Curzon's viceroyalty Aligarh collage established contact with Persia and some Persian noble families sent their boys to Aligarh University for study. During the war between Italy and Turkey (1911-12) a wave of sympathy for Turkey among the Indian Muslims was swept them and this alarmed the British Government. The Balkan wars (1912-13) again produced a wave of concern for Turkey and worried the Indian Musalmans. This again alarmed the British Government in India. Turkey had succumbed to the influence of Germany and Aligarh Germany enmity grew considerably starting from the beginning of the 20th century. The fear was that this may prove to be the cause of winning Muslims by the congress to its side. The inactivity of the Muslims might drive educated young men among the Muslim towards the Hindu dominated congress for the fulfillment of their political ambition. Moreover Morley was thinking about some reforms. If elections were introduced the Muslims will be swamped by the Hindus was the fear of the Muslims and this was the cause of the Simla Deputation.

On 1st October 1906 Simla Deputation led by Aga Khan met Lord Minto the Governor General at Simla. The address presented claimed three concessions for Muslims on three grounds.

1 Firstly they are one fourth of India's population. They constituted a more numerous community than any other community.

2 Secondly their value of political importance, contribution and their contribution to the defense of the country must be taken into consideration.

3 Thirdly the due consideration must be given to the political importance which they occupied in India a century ago and this tradition has not yet faded away from their mind.

It must be noted here that the claim that they made was repugnant for the demand that the Indian National Congress was making for the people of India in their demand of representative form of government.

Minto assured categorically that their interest along with their claim will be safeguarded. Their interests he stated will be safeguarded separately and not jointly in the scheme of election to the Municipalities, District Boards and the Legislative Councils. As a result of this view in the minds of the British rulers there came up a scheme of separate electorates for the Muslims in the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909.

Muslim League: The deputationsists encouraged by their Simla success realized the value of an independent organization for action. Nobab Habibulla of Dacca took a lead and issued circular letter to some prominent Muslim leaders of the various provinces informing them about the need of an all India Association. A meeting was held in Dacca on 30th December 1906. They formed an association called "All India Muslim League" with three objectives.

1 To promote loyalty to the British among the Muslim subjects.

2 To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims and respectfully to represent their needs and aspirations to the government. Aga Khan was elected permanent president during the years 1907-10 and it concentrated its efforts to consolidate the concessions of separate electorates of the Muslims granted in Morley-Minto Reforms. It continued to support the partition of Bengal and oppose the Hindus in their agitation of Swadeshi and boycott.

Lucknow Pact: During the years 1910-13 new forces came to play in Muslim politics. Some of its leaders realized that the rapprochement with Hindus is necessary. The Britain's apparent hostility to Turkey in Turco-Italian war (1911-12) and the Balkan wars (1912-13) made a large section of Muslims critical about the policy of Great Britain. Their Pan-Islamic sympathy, Indian administration yielding to the forces of Hindu opposition while annulling the partition of

Bengal and the Muslim younger's dislike of opposition to the nationalist movement of the congress all silently worked against the English administration and tilted towards national politics of demanding changes. Nationalistic sentiment prominently grew in them. Maulana Azad's (24) Al Hilal which was brought out in 1912 was the most important publication. The programme of the Muslim league also changed significantly in 1913. Here for the first time the Muslim league spoke of the self-government for India. The pursuit of common political objectives became possible. Tilak played a great role in bridging the gulf between Hindus and Muslims. He stated that he would not mind if the ensuring legislature is completely of Muslims but it should be the Home Rule.

Some Reform proposals were separately passed in Lucknow conference of congress and Muslim league held in Lucknow in December 1916. And both the parties agreed on those proposals together. This is known as famous Lucknow pact. By this:

1) The followers of the Muslim league did not join the congress. The pact spoke for both but both the communities remained separate political entities. It did not help in making Muslim league a secular organization nor did it become a nationalist organization. It was just a temporary truce. On the contrary it created other political problems for India.

In the preamble the pact had asked the government to declare for the ensuring reforms as early as possible. It claimed the position of equal partnership to dependency. India should be the self-governing dominion. It had proposed that council's provincial and central legislature should be expanded with 4/5th elected members and 1/5th nominated members. Muslims should be represented through separate electorates, and the seats should be reserved in every province for them.

In the council of governor general 1/3rd members should be Muslims. In province ½ should be Indian elected members of the Governor's executive council. Both military and civil services commissioned and non-commissioned should be thrown open to Indians. The control of the centre and the secretary of state over the provincial government should be relaxed.

The formal acceptance of the separate electorates by the congress was a positive gain for the Muslims. This was such a gain for the Muslims that it survived when a non-existing unity between Hindus and Muslims collapsed after the failure of Khilafat Movement. The scheme did not alter the practical frame work for the responsible government.

The producers of Lucknow pact were under the impression that they had the sole monopoly in the power distribution if the power is granted by the British. Though the Muslim league did not seem to be facing any important opposition to its decision making monopoly on behalf of the Muslims this was not so about the position of the Indian National Congress. Some sections of people particularly among the Hindus regarded the congress as the organization of Brahmins and Banias. Therefore, the congress had to make efforts to secure sanction for the Lucknow pact particularly from the non-Brahmins and the untouchables who had formed some organizations of their own by now. It was during this period Annie Besant and Tilak launched the Home Rule Movement. It is in the light of all these changes Montagu made his famous declaration on 20th August 1917 in the House of Commons that the policy would be the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions.

In this environment of overall awakening it was quite natural that the Non-Brahmins who could be grouped in that category and were sizable in population, should keep quite. The idea that the Brahmin orthodoxy was the cause of the overall backwardness of the Non-Brahmins was quite rampant at this age as Satyashodhak movement that awoke the masses against Brahmins was a living force working in the Bombay presidency, in this period of social fermentation.

The British administration was manned by a small number of English people called British officials. This necessitated the creation of English educated class of Indians. The Satyashodhakies had already rejected the claim of congress as a national body.

In the first congress sessions of Bombay 80% were Brahmin delegates. This dominance continued to be maintained. The moderate extremist split was social as well as political. The extremists who opposed the social reform were the nationalists believing only in political reform. Non-Brahmins who were the supporters of the social reform looked to the extremists with disfavour. The nationalism and extremist went together. Non-Brahmin thus reviewed the nationalism not as Shivaji's rule but as Peshwai. The 1895 congress disillusioned the Non-Brahmins. It is here both Non-Brahmins and untouchables expressed their opposition to the attitude of the congress. The paper Dinbandhu stated that when the congressmen decry the English government as irresponsible they do not see the fire that is burning under their (congressmen's) feet (Jan. 19, 1896).

The exclusion of Maharashtrian Non-Brahmins from political activity made the position of Bengali Muslims and Madrasi Non-Brahmins comfortable. The Madras Non-Brahmins had stronger element of landlords and business men in the rank of congress compared to the Non-Brahmins of Maharashtra but they wielded some power within the congress itself. There were six Kshatriyas (Vellalas) from the Madras in the first congress and from 1917 to 1920 they emerged in Madras congress as a pressure within the congress. Ram Swami Nayakar emerged from within the congress party. The leaders of Tamil and Telgu Non-Brahmin party were able to build up a strong and able Non-Brahmins party called justice party in 1920's as did the Non-Brahmin party in Maharashtra. Both Bengali Muslims and the Non-Brahmins of Madras developed Anti-Aryan identity whereas the upper section of the Non-Brahmin leaders in Maharashtra tended to be closer to the ideology of Kshatriyahood within the Aryan society.

Non-Brahmins in Bombay presidency kept away almost from the congress politics from 1895 whereas the congress went ahead without the aid of the Non-Brahmins and the Dalits and it made a pact with Muslims in 1916 and launched a Home Rule Movement. Montagu made his famous August declaration. And this declaration brought a forced return of the Non-Brahmins to politics in Bombay Presidency.

In contrast to the rapid coming up of the Non-Brahmin party in Madras the Non-Brahmin Party took three years to take shape after the August declaration here in Bombay presidency. Initially it was Deccan Rayat Association led by Lathe, Kothari, S. K. Bole and later Bhaskarrao Jadhav.

The Deccan Rayat Association initially submitted to the government expressing fear that due to mental weakness of the masses of India new reforms would be harmful to the peasants and they suffer in the free fight against the privileged classes. Only the separate electorates would provide protection to the masses. Otherwise they will elect Brahmans and orthodox Brahmanised Non-Brahmins.

After many meetings in Pune and elsewhere ultimately the Non-Brahmin Party met at Belgaum in May on 14-15 of 1921 and finalized the establishment of Non-Brahmin party known as Deccan Non-Brahmin League. Thus, finally Non-Brahmins evolved a single Non-Brahmin party to fight the election of legislative assembly and the District local boards.

Non-Brahmans with Liberal minded Muslims in congress and the government nominated officials acquired strength and formed the ministry under Diarchy government.

Within a decade party dwindled away and Bhaskarrao Jadhav charged Non Maratha conspiracy within the party as a cause of party's break up around 1930. Many Non-Brahmin leaders left the party for nationalist cause. The caste factionalism among the leaders represented a continuing weakness throughout the decade of 1921-30. The growing nationalist feeling and sentiments among the Non-Brahmins and the emergence of Gandhiji's leadership were also important causes of the decline of the Non-Brahmin party.

Socio-economic and political awakening among the untouchables of India was also an important factor that emerged to play a role in the socio-political life of the country in the 1920's and after. These people formed almost 1/5th population of the country. They were in minority and were scattered all over the country. They led a segregated life like lepers staying outside the village with no socio-religious contact with the people staying within the village called privileged Hindus as against these under privileged untouchables. Since their social status, religious position and economic condition have all been sanctioned and approved by the Hindu Shastras and practiced by the touchable Hindus for centuries together they led a miserable life. Had there been only two castes touchable and untouchable perhaps somebody would have led the revolutionary movement to end the birth based slavery of the untouchables. But even the rest of the touchable Hindu society is also hopelessly divided into innumerable castes and the humanity to establish equality between the individuals in Hindu Society never worked effectively to produce tangible results in matters of establishing social equality. The rigidity of castes and the practice of untouchability that has continued among the Hindus from the hoary past had hardened the system with no remedy against it. All the castes which are regarded as touchable are united in treating the so called untouchables as lowest with no equality rights to them with the rest of the people. English education which the English rulers introduced to educate Indians to run the government was not admissible to the children of the untouchables due to the opposition of the caste Hindus. A best example of keeping the untouchable children out of the school occurred in 1856. A Mahar boy at Dharwad in Bombay presidency had applied for the admission to the school in that year. The education officer from Dharwad submitted the case to the Bombay government. The Bombay government unable to take the decision for the fear of caste Hindus prejudice referred the case to the Board of Directors in England. The directors communicated to the Bombay government rejecting admission to the Mahar boy to the school stating that the caste system is not their creation.

Ignorance due to no right to education religiously under privileged and poor manual laboring class of a low type was the only work assigned to them by the high caste Hindus. The rest of the caste Hindus who formed 4/5th of population were their masters who exploited them economically, socially and religiously. There was no question of their political existence. The Indian National Congress refused to accept their political rights for a long time.

The charter Act of 1813 permitted Christian missionaries to carry on their secular as well as religious (proselytizing) work in India. Christian missionaries entered India studied the social condition and understood that there is a fertile ground for conversion to Christianity from among the low castes particularly from the untouchables. They opened schools and admitted all those who desired to seek admission irrespective of their castes.

Another factor responsible for the spread of education among the low castes such as untouchables was their recruitment in the army of the East Indian Company. The high castes Hindus regarded Christians who had come to India crossing the sea and were beef-eaters as Mlenchas (irreligious). Hence they refused to enter the army of the East India Company. It was only the low caste men like Koli, Bhil, Ramoshi, Mahar, Mang, Chambhar etc. were their soldiery. Education in army was compulsory not only to the soldiers but also to their family members. Education was also taken up by the company Government as the need as it needed men in the administration to administer such a vast country and hence it promoted education particularly among the high caste men by advocating the filtration theory. In the latter half of the 19th century the indigenous reform movements like Brahmo-Samaj, Arya Samaj, Satya Shodhak Samaj, Prarthana Samj etc. agitated for social reform and they started their own schools and collages where they admitted untouchable students even by braving the opposition from the orthodox people among the Hindus.

In this process there came forward some enlightened individuals from the Hindus in the early decades of the 20th century to devote to the cause of education of the untouchables. These factors had produced some changes in the outlook of some educated members among the untouchables and such people were raising issues before the leading organizations like the Indian National Congress. The princely states like Kolhapur, Baroda and Mysore contributed much for the education and the awakening of the untouchables. It is in this environment the Lucknow pact of December 1916, Home-rule movement of the same year and the August declaration of 1917 kindled the fire of awakening both among the Non-Brahmins and among the untouchable communities. Chh. Shahu of Kolhapur who as the vanguard of the Non-Brahmin movement at this time also championed the cause of the liberation of the untouchables. On the August declaration he posed a question to the British Rulers that to whom are they giving power and who will take it? This was the question which the leaders of some organizations in Madras also asked Montagu when he visited Madras. They told him that they are giving power to those snakes that are just waiting for the young frogs (rest of the people) to jump on. This change awoke the congress and it began playing its cards. It started organizing the meetings of the untouchables to get the resolutions passed supporting the Lucknow pact.

Lucknow pact was agreed upon by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim league in their joint conference in December 1916 held at Luchnow. The significance of this pact has not been properly explained by the writers on Modern Indian History. Seeing that the British Parliament may grant new installment of political reform to India both the leaders of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim league agreed upon a plan according to which the members of the Muslim community were to get 1/3 of the total seats elected to the provincial as well as the central legislature of the Governor General of India. To this Lucknow pact Muslim league faced no problem as the Muslim leaders were fully united on the demand of the league. But this was not the case with the Indian National Congress.

For example organizations and associations of Non-Brahmins and the backward classes like the untouchables which were vocal on the issue of granting power by the British to the upper caste Hindus who dominated the Indian National Congress. They must get some share in that grant of power was their view. The leaders of the Indian National Congress were making efforts to win the support of these backward classes' organizations by organizing the meetings and conferences on their behalf.

Two such meetings on behalf of the untouchables took place in Bombay in 1917. The first was held on 11th November, 1917 under the chairmanship of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. In its second resolution it approved Lucknow pact with many dissents. Those who recorded their dissents did so on the ground that they did know what is there in Lucknow pact agreed upon by the parties. This means that the chairman got it approved (He was leading congress man) without explaining the contents of the pact. In the fifth resolution the chairman was authorized to request the Indian National Congress to pass the resolution condemning the practice of untouchability in the ensuing annual conference of the congress. Hence the Calcutta congress of Dec. 1917 passed a resolution condemning the practice of untouchability after 32 years of its coming into being.

Only a week after Chandavarkar's meeting a second meeting of the untouchables was also held in November 1917 under the chairmanship of a Non-Brahmin leader Shri Bapuji

Namdeo Begade in Bombay. The following resolutions were adopted in the meeting.

1) Loyalty to the British throne

2) That this meeting cannot give its support to the congress league scheme in spite of it's adopting in the meeting under Chandavarkar's chairmanship.

3) Its consensus was that the administration of the country should remain in the hands of the British until the masses, including the untouchables become capable of shouldering the responsibility of administration.

4) And if the British Government has decided to give political concessions to the Indian public, this meeting prays that the government should grant the untouchables their own representatives in the various representative bodies to ensure them their civil and political rights.

5) That this meeting approves of the objects of the Bahishkrit Bharat Samaj (Depressed India Association) and support the deputation to be sent on its behalf to Mr. Montagu.

6) That this meeting prays that looking to the primary needs of the depressed classes the government should make primary education both free and compulsory. The meeting also requests the government to give special facilities by way of scholarships to the students of the depressed classes.

7) That the meeting authorizes the chairman to forward the resolutions to both the viceroy and the government of Bombay.

In anticipation of the coming declaration the Lucknow agreement was reached and the efforts were being made to convince the people for its acceptability. The untouchables by now had become politically conscious. Like the Non-Brahmins they were also anti-congress as it was regarded by them as socially reactionary. How to convince the untouchables about the acceptability of the Lucknow pact was a problem for the congress.

A very much revealing example of taking the untouchables for granted by the high caste leaders, particularly the contemporary congress leaders was indicated in the event that took place in Vijapur. On 6th May 1918 a conference was organized at Vijapur by the congress workers under the chairmanship of one Mr. Kamat a congress leader. Fortunately for them Gandhiji was present in the conference. The chairman requested Gandhiji to read out proposal that untouchables gathered in the conference approve the contents of the Lucknow pact. Gandhiji stood up and by raising his voice asked the audience whether there is any untouchable there the answer from the audience was "*kohi nahi* " (no body is there). Gandhiji refused to read out the proposal and sat in his seat. The plan was a fiasco. The Congress leaders wanted to prove that it was the conference organized by the untouchables to give their consent to the contents of the Lucknow pact.

The awakening among the educated untouchables went on growing and this awakening was in relation to the caste Hindus who mainly practiced untouchability and ill treated the untouchables. Some untouchable organizations and individuals were interview by Montagu to know their political opinion. Dr. Ambedkar a learned professor who belonged to the untouchable community was interviewed by South-Borough before whom he advocated reserve constituencies for untouchables and the widening of the franchise leading to the adult franchise. Dr. Ambedkar went to England again to complete his remaining part of education. He completed his studies leading to D.Sc. and Bar at law degrees and returned to India. He started practicing law in Bombay high court and then jumped into the public life by founding an association called "Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha" An Institute of Amelioration of the untouchables. It was through this organization he rapidly spread among the untouchables particularly of Bombay presidency the message of self-help, education and the struggle for equal rights. His first news paper Mook-Nayak had already made some beginning in this regard. Through Bahishkrit Hitakarini opening hostels, schools and night schools etc. became a mission and many people inspired by Dr. Ambedkar's urge, sincerity and hard work to bring his people up from their age old slavery began working with a missionary zeal. Dr. Ambedkar told the caste Hindus that if they want freedom from foreign yoke the untouchables also want civil liberty and equality of treatment with caste Hindus. In February 1927 he was nominated to the Bombay legislature as its member and it was there he worked sincerely by making use of his courage, learning and the urge to do good to the masses and to the nation. His Satyagraha at Mahad to establish untouchable's right to draw water from the public tank inaugurated the struggle of the untouchables for their liberation on all India level. It was at this time he started the news paper called "Bahishkrit Bharat" and his writing in the paper proved him an intellectual of a very high order and an inspired man for a cause.

In the report of Montagu it was laid down that after every ten years reforms introduced should be reviewed to work for further reforms in the functioning of the government.

Indians were opposed to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform right from its implementation. They wanted autonomy in all the governor's provinces and the introduction of the responsibility in the central government. Instead the Reforms introduce was the partial autonomy in governor's provinces and the central government under the governor general remained intact with few changes in the composition of the central legislature. According to the reform after the election of 1921 some departments went to the elected members. The member holding the education ministry particularly in Bombay presidency was a Non-Brahmin. The Non-Brahmins in southern India particularly in Bombay presidency were fighting for the free and compulsory primary education. After the introduction of the Reform they got the education ministry but the finance ministry was with the member in the governor's list of executive council. The important portfolios like Home, finance, security etc were in the reserved list of the governor. This was the practical difficulty before the ministers who were elected members and were interested in the progress aspect of the governing.

The elected representatives were demanding autonomy in the provinces as well as in the centre except Defense and the foreign Affairs. On this demand the secretary of state Lord Peel stated that the new reforms have not been given sufficient time to make experiment with them. On Feb. 4, 1924 Motilal Nehru moved a resolution in the central legislature to dissolve the legislature and summon the representative Round Table Conference at an early date to produce the acceptable constitution for India. The assembly adopted Pandit Motilal Nehru's resolution on Feb. 18, 1924 by an over whelming majourity. This means for the first time the Assembly adopted a resolution that the future constitution of India should be framed by Indians themselves.

Dr. Ambedkar even though he was a nominated member in the Bombay legislative Assembly did not lag behind in offering his own criticism on the functioning of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. He writes that "the subjects transferred to the control of the minister all related to the well-being of the people as distinguished from the subjects relating to the maintenance of law and order." As a matter of policy, therefore, the finance of the presidency should have been in the hands of a minister. The finance department is virtually in the hands of executive councilor of the governor and is not responsible to the legislative council. Dr. Ambedkar adds to his criticism further saying that the "position assigned to the governor in relation to the transferred subjects was another factor which worked to the detriment of the transferred side of the government. There was another thing which empowered the Governor and crippled the ministers. The common complaint has been that the Governors claimed that in law the ministers were merely their advisers and they were free to reject their advice. If they thought it fit to do so. There was another thing which also helped the aggrandizement of the powers of the Governor as against the ministers. The Governors insisted that all matters relating to the services including the question of their appointments, posting, and promotions in the minister's department should be under the charge of the Governors. The position assigned to the secretary of a ministerial Department also helped to weaken the authority of the minister and to increase the autocracy of the Governor. For, in all cases, where the secretary differed from the decision of the ministers, he was permitted to approach the Governor over the head of his political chief and get his decision altered by the fiat of the Governor.

All this in his view had an adverse effect on the satisfactory working of diarchy. Sometimes it is argued that in the absence of above mentioned defects the diarchy would have been the workable system of government. Dr. Ambedkar did not agree with this view. In his opinion diarchy is in itself an unworkable system of government. He argues further that the question is whether diarchy has worked. If at all it has worked the question is whether it has worked as a responsible form of government. He argued that it must be remembered that in 1919 there were many alternative forms of Governments competing with diarchy for acceptance. But all these schemes were rejected in preference to diarchy because they failed to satisfy the tests of responsible government. Applying this test when we judge the working of diarchy the conclusion is that diarchy had failed is beyond any dispute. Responsible government means, that the executive continues to be in office only so long as it commands a majority in the house. That is the essence of the doctrine of ministerial responsibility. The pity in the functioning of the diarchy is that the ministers were defeated in matters of the transferred subjects many times in the house yet they continued in office as if nothing had happened. This situation occurred several times in the legislative council of the Bombay presidency but no minister ever offered himself to resign or was asked to resign. With these facts on the record of the functioning of diarchy none can say that diarchy has ever worked as a responsible system of government.

In the light of these oppositions to the reforms of 1919 Lord Birkenhead, the secretary of states in Great Britain announced the appointment of Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon, an eminent lawyer, in November 1927 to enquire into the working of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and to make suggestions on the further constitutional Reforms. While announcing so he also threw challenge to Indian leaders asking them to produce a constitution which carries behind a fair measure of general agreement among the great peoples of India. He further stated that he was convinced that no general agreement would emerge particularly because Hindu-Muslim differences had been gaining ground since the failure of the Khilafat movement.

This challenge was accepted by the congress party in its Madras session of 1927 and adopted the resolution of boycotting the Simon commission and it took steps in co-operation with all other parties to produce Swarajya constitution for India. Invitations were sent to the (1) National Liberal Federation (2) The Muslim League (3) The Hindu Mahasabha (4) The Central Sikh League (5) The All India Conference Of Indian Christians (6) The Anglo-Indian Association (7) The States Peoples Conference (8) The Trade Union Congress and Several Other Organizations. There were several meetings of these parties but in the meetings instead of unifying the differences went on widening. When the conference of the parties met in Bombay on 19th May 1928 the parties instead of publicly recording the failure appointed a small committee with Motilal Nehru as chairman. The committee was asked to complete its work of producing the constitution before 1st July 1928. The members were (1) Sir Imam Ali and Shuaib Qureshi (Muslims), M. S. Aney and M. R. Jayakar (Hindu Mahasabha), G. R. Pradhan (Non-Brahmin), Sardar Mangal Singh (The Sikh League), Tej Bahadur Sapru (liberal) and N. N. Joshi (Labour) and Jawaharlal Nehru the general secretary of the congress was nominated secretary of the committee.

The report which the committee produced is known as Nehru Report as its chairman was Motilal Nehru. The committee declared that in theory the separate electorates violated the essential principles of responsible government in practice they have failed to pave the way to a better understanding between the communities. Therefore, this practice should be discarded. All elections should be made by or mixed electorates. The committee therefore, recommended that the only communal safe-guard should be "reservation" of seats and this should only be afforded to the Muslims and not to any other community or group except the Non-Muslims in the North-West Frontier Province. This should be applied only in case of centre and provinces and that too where the Muslims are in Minority. The Muslims will have the right to contest on other general seats also.

These details can easily establish that the Nehru Report completely ignored the existence of the untouchable communities whose population formed the 1/5th of the total population of the country for political purpose. By the time the Nehru Report was under preparation there were many important organizations and associations of untouchables in India particularly in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta presidencies Dr. Ambedkar who had started participating in political and awakening movement of the untouchables from 1919 had become quite active in launching the movement for the spread of education and establishing equality rights of the untouchables. He was quite active in socio-political movement of the untouchables from the middle of the year 1924 by establishing an organization called "Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha." By the time the Nehru committee was appointed the branches of the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha had already spread throughout the Bombay presidency, Vidarbha and some part of Madhya-Pradesh. The Sabha and its leader Dr. Ambedkar became quite known by its launching Mahad Satyagraha to draw water from the Chavadar Tank there in the teeth of the opposition from the caste Hindus and the Satyagraha struggle went on protracted. Dr. Ambedkar had also become sufficiently known through his struggle and his news paper writing in the paper called "Bahishkrit Bharat" which he himself had started in April 1927. From February 1927 he was also the nominated member of the Bombay legislative Assembly and by his work there he had already made his mark there. The congress party when it invited all and sundry organizations to participate in the deliberations to produce the constitution it quite conveniently by-passed Dr. Ambedkar and the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha standing true to its orthodox tradition.

On 26-11-27 the Simon Commission was appointed with six other members who were all English men. All parties in India unanimously protested against the appointment.

In the view of the boycott decision of the parties in India Simon wrote a letter to the vice-Roy and the Governor General of India on 6-2-28 that to secure support of the people for commission's work in India an appointment of seven member committee from the provincial legislative assembly of each province should be made and the committee thus appointed should assist the commission in its work when it is in their province. Sir, Chunilal Mehta made a proposal in Bombay legislative assembly on 1-8-28 on behalf of the government. Veer Nariman opposed this proposal but Shri S. K. Bole refuted Nariman's opposition. Shri Bole spoke the following:

My honourable friend Mr. Nariman stated that today is the anniversary of late Lokamanya Tilak and that he was for liberty. But for whom he wanted liberty? "He wanted liberty in political matters, but he was not willing to give liberty in social and religious matters." The Bombay legislative council elected seven members by votes on 5-8-28 Dr. Ambedkar was one of the 7 elected members. When Dr. Ambedkar got elected with other seven members of the Bombay Legislative Assembly he awoke himself seriously that it is an opportunity to work to safe-guard the political interests of the untouchables as well as for the safe-guard of the interest of the Indian nation.

When Simon Commission arrived in Bombay on 3-2-28 almost all parties in Bombay protested against its arrival by showing black flags. But the Non-Brahmins, untouchables, Muslims, commercial and some orthodox Hindu organizations welcomed it. Among the untouchable leaders who welcomed the commission Dr. Ambedkar and Dr. Solanki were prominent. Dr. V. P. Chavan and S. K. Bole were the prominent Non-Brahmin leaders that welcomed the Simon commission on its arrival in Bombay. Dr. Chavan was reported to have said referring to the leaders that boycotted the commission in Bombay that "oh father! Forgive them for they know not what they are doing!!" Jesus Christ had uttered this sentence while Roman officials were crucifying him. This utterance was taken as very much insulting by the leaders of the parties that had participated in boycotting the Simon Commission in Bombay.

Dr. Ambedkar's view was that there was an opportunity to the representatives of the untouchables to plead their case before any statutory committee if no caste Hindu member is there in that committee. The caste Hindus always take the stand to side-track the problem of the untouchables by stating that it is not a political problem but a social problem. For a long time even the British politicians also succumbed to this tactics of the Hindu politicians who often stated that untouchable's is a social problem and Hindus and untouchables should solve this problem. Following this misleading view even Simon also told the untouchables who gave him reception at Ooty that the problem of untouchables is a social problem and not a political problem.

On behalf of the untouchables Dr. Ambedkar and Dr. Solanki gave evidence before the Simon Commission at Poona on 23-10-28. Here in their evidence they emphatically stated that the untouchables should be regarded as different people from the Hindus. The untouchables should get at least 22 seats in the Bombay legislative assembly was the demand made by Dr. Ambedkar. The untouchables are not responsible if the caste wise electorates produce communal conflict. But the untouchables must have separate electorates for their election to the legislative councils. Dr. Ambedkar complained that because of the caste Hindu opposition the untouchable boys and girls find it very difficult to secure admission to the schools. Every adult, both men and women must have voting right he added.

On behalf of the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha Dr. Ambedkar sent two independent petitions to Simon Commission on 29-5-28. In one petition he explained how the government neglected the education of the untouchables and how dangerous it is to continue this policy of neglecting the education of the untouchables hereafter. This petition on education ran in 20 pages. In this petition he had demanded for increasing number of scholarships for the Depressed Classes boys and girls and the opening of hostels both for girls and boys at every important educational center. The government should also recruit in services the educated men from the untouchable community in adequate number.

Second petition which ran in 27 pages was about the political safe-guards of the untouchable communities. He had stated in the petition that as the untouchables were kept totally out of the political field they are meekly serving both the caste Hindus and the government with no voice of any kind by anybody in the government. It was stated in the petition that if the political rights are given to the untouchables their representatives in the various bodies like the legislative assembly will raise their voice against the injustice and harassment done to them by the caste Hindus and the government.

Muslims, Non-Brahmins, untouchables some orthodox sections of the Hindus and associations of landlords and merchants did not participate in boycotting the Simon Commission. When the orthodox Hindu leaders prostrated before Simon requesting him to keep the Hindu religion free from the domain of making laws all the Hindu news papers kept mum over the event but when the untouchables welcomed the Simon Commission with an address of honour at Ooty and Sir Simon stated in his reply that the problem of untouchables is not a political problem it is a social problem and as such it should be dealt with from social point of view. Pleased with this statement the Hindu news papers jubilantly gave a wide publicity to the statement made by Sir Simon.

Dr. Ambedkar was among the seven members elected to assist the Simon Commission in its working in the Bombay presidency by the Bombay legislative council. Dr. Ambedkar did not sign the joint report prepared by the 7 member Committee because of his disagreement and instead he prepared his own report independently and submitted the same to the Simon Commission. The important points of the issues discussed by him in his report are discussed in the summary given below.

In section one of his report he discusses the distribution of the area of the Bombay Province. He stated that :

The presidency extends over 1223541 square miles dividing into four linguistic divisions: (1) Maharashtra (2) Gujarat (3) Karnataka and (4) Sindh. The first three areas are in the Bombay presidency for 110 years whereas Sindh joined Bombay presidency for some 85 years ago. Now Karnataka and Sindh are demanding separation from the presidency on linguistic and cultural basis. The amalgamation of culturally and linguistically smaller groups with bigger groups makes the smaller ones politically helpless.

In case of Karnataka there is some force in the argument. The Karnataka by dismembering into smaller parts have been linked with non-Karnataka areas for administrative purposes. Nor can it be denied that the Karnataka area by joining Bombay presidency has not suffered due to it's under representation in Bombay legislature. When every linguistic group of people if they are vested with powers of government will acquire linguistic consciousness. In the process of amalgamation there is a loss of smaller linguistic and cultural groups but it is tolerable in the larger interest of the nation.

Not with standing all this I am opposed to the separation of Karnataka. The principle of one language and one province is too large to be given effect to in practice.

I am opposed to the creation of linguistic provinces because, writes Ambedkar that I am of opinion that the most vital need of the day is to create among the mass of the people the sense of a common nationality the feeling not that they are Indians first and Hindus, Mohamedans or Sindhis and Kanarese after wards but that they are Indians first and Indians last. If that be the ideal then it follows that nothing should be done which will harden local patriotism and group consciousness.

Dr. Ambedkar thus opposed to the idea of creating linguistic provinces right from the beginning of his career in public life. The formation of linguistic states encourages in producing the separatist feelings among the people was his firmly considered view point throughout his life.

His other six colleagues who rejected the Karnataka case but supported the separation of Sindh stood criticized by him. What he thought was that compared to Karnataka Sindh has no case Sindh has gained substantially by its incorporation in the Bombay presidency. But it was a surprise to him that other six members of the committee favoured the separation of Sindh though they summarily dismissed the case of the separation of Karnataka. In his view compared to Karnataka Sindh had no case. In fact Sindh had gained substantially by joining the Bombay presidency. Sindh has been accorded a special status of a neighbour. It is administered by a commissioner who is only next to the governor. Sindh has been allowed to retain her ancient and customary laws. Her tribunals are entirely independent of the tribunals of the presidency. Her public service is virtually separate from the presidency public service and is manned by her own people. It is her incorporation which has enabled her to draw so largely upon the great resources of this presidency.

Given these facts it is difficult to understand what more is to be gained by separation when Sindh has all the advantages of separation without the disadvantages of incorporation.

It is also evident that all the communities of Sindh have not joined in making this demand. The Muslims favoured the separation whereas Hindus opposed it when they appeared before joint conference of the commission. It is only since the movement of Non-cooperation (1920) the attitude of the Muslims in Sindh changed slowly.

The change among the Muslims was so much that on 20th; March 1927 they put forth what was known as "Delhi proposals" by prominent members of the Muslim Community as terms for peace and agreement between Hindus and Muslims. According to this proposal it was demanded by the Muslims that (1) Sindh should be made into a separate province, (2) which the North-West Frontier Province should be treated on the same footing as other provinces and (3) which in the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of Muslims representation should be in accordance with their population.

It is obviously clear that the above proposals are sufficient enough to indicate that the object of the scheme was to carve out as many provinces with a Mohamedan majority as possible out of the existing arrangement. At present Punjab and Bengal are two provinces with a bare Muslim majority. If representation in proportion to population is consented the Muslims will form the political majority without any other communities help. Baluchistan and N. W. F. province have an over helming Muslim majority. If the status of province is accorded to these two there will be four Muslim provinces with Muslim majority. They are demanding Sindh to be a separate province by separating it from Bombay presidency because it will be the province dominated by the Muslim population thus making the number of Muslim population dominated provinces into five. Dr. Ambedkar concludes that:

"For the authors of the scheme say that they are prepared to give up communal electorates and agree to joint electorates in all provincial legislatures and in the central legislature provided their proposal of Mohamedan provinces was agreed to. It is a scheme for protecting the Muslim minority in Hindu majority provinces." This is the purpose behind the whole scheme and also behind the demand for the separation of Sindh. Maulana Azad recently while addressing the Muslim league in its recent session of Calcutta stated the following with clarity and terseness that:

"By the Lucknow Pact they had sold away their interests. The Delhi proposals of last March opened a door for the first time to the recognition of the real rights of the Musalmans in India."

Dr. Ambedkar then points out the significance of the demand for separate Sindh. The real purpose behind the demand for the separation of Sindh has nothing to do with the destiny of Sindh. It is based upon the principle that the best way of keeping peace is to be prepared for war.

While supporting the proposal for creating a separate province of Sindh the Nehru Report says that "a long succession of events in history is responsible for the distribution of the population of India as it is today" and that in creating communal provinces "we have merely to recognize facts as they are." On this Dr. Ambedkar argues out that this is no doubt true. But the point remains, says he, that "whether we should create such admittedly communal provinces at a time when the communal feeling is running at a full tide and the national feeling is running at its lowest ebb." There would be time for creating such provinces when the Hindus and Mohamedans have outgrown their communal consciousness and have come to feel that they are Indians first and Indians last. At any rate this question should wait till both have come to feel that they are Indians first and Hindus and Mohamedans afterwards. It is on these grounds concluded Ambedkar, that he dissociates himself from the sympathy shown by his colleagues towards the question of the separation of Sindh.

In his political report-section on franchise he by arguing out the necessity of adult franchise stated that the legislature formed under the system of adult franchise and the ministry forming itself out of the duly elected legislature is the fundamental basis of democracy. Those of his colleagues who argued against the adoption of adult franchise due to low percentage of literacy Dr. Ambedakar's argument was that keeping the large number of people out of the voting right will leave them at the mercy of those who have the right to vote. In his view this is another form of slavery compelling the larger section of unlettered society at the mercy of the few lettered men. Therefore, I reject this suggestion in toto says Dr. Ambedkar. In his view poorer the individual greater the necessity of enfranchising him. Therefore, he says that, I accept that conclusion and recommend that the franchise should be extended to all adults, male and female, above the age of 21.

While differing from his colleagues who advocated for restricted franchise he argued that:

"The facts relied upon these critics do not go to support a government based upon a restricted franchise is a worse form of government in that it gives rise to the rule of oligarchy." In support of his view he quoted the joint report (1919) which stated that:

"Indeed we regard the development of a broad franchise as the arch on which the edifice of self-government must be raised: for we have no intention that our reforms should result merely in the transfer of power from a bureaucracy to an oligarchy."

Dr Ambedkar further added that what is the remedy for preventing oligarchy? The only remedy he answered was the grant of adult suffrage. He adds that:

"There is also another reason why the present system of representation should be overhauled. Representative government is everywhere a party government. Indeed a party government is such a universal adjunct of representative government that it might well be said that representative government cannot function except through a party government. The best form of party government is that which obtains under a two party system both of ensuring stable as well as responsible government. An executive may be made as responsible as it can be made by law to the legislature. But the responsibility will only be nominal if the legislature is so constituted that it could not effectively impose its will on the executive. A stable government requires absence of uncertainly. An executive must be able to plan its way continuously to an ordered scheme of policy. But that invokes an unwavering support of a majority. This can be obtained only out of a two party system. It can never be obtained out of a group system. Under the group system executive will represent not a general body of opinion, but a patch work of doctrines held by the leaders of different groups who have agreed to compromise their integrity for the sake of power. Such a system can never assure continuous support necessary for a stable government since the temptation to reshuffling the groups for private advantage is ever present.

On the disabilities of the untouchables compared to another minority community namely the Muslims, Dr. Ambedkar states in his report to the Simon Commission that:

"Bahishkrit being weak in numbers, wealth and education, the Depressed Classes are burdened with disabilities from which the Mohamedans are absolutely free.... The Mohamedans have not only an open door in the matter of public services, but in certain departments they have secured the largest share. The touch of a Depressed Classes man causes pollution; the touch of a Mohamedan does not. The trade and industry are open to a Mohamedan while they are closed to a man from the Depressed Classes. The Mohamedan does not bear the stigma of untouchability (inferiority) as does a man from the Depressed Classes. The Depressed Classes man is far often subject to the tyranny of the majority than the Mohamedan is. The reason is that the Mohamedan who has all the elementary rights of a human being accorded to him, has no cause for quarrel against the majority, except when a religious issue comes to the front. But the position of the Depressed Class man is totally different. His life which is one incessant struggle for the acquisition of the rights of the human being is a constant challenge to the Majority which denies him these rights. The result is that he is constantly in antagonism with the majority. This is not all. If on any occasion the Mohamedan is visited by the tyranny of the majority, he has on his side the long arm of the police and the magistracy. But when the Depressed Classes man is a victim of the tyranny of the majority the arm of the police or magistracy seldom comes to his rescue. On the contrary it works in league with the majority to his detriment for the simple reason that the Mohamedan can count many of their Kith And Kin in the police and the Magistracy of the province: while Depressed Classes have no one from them in these departments. And be it noted that the Depressed Classes have not merely to bear the brunt of the orthodox Hindu force but it has also to count against the Mohamedans. It is ordinarily supposed that the Mohamedan is free from social prejudices of the Hindus against the Depressed Classes. Nothing can be a greater error than this. Leaving aside the urban areas the Mohamedan in the rural parts is as much affected by the poison as the Hindu. Although Mohamedans do not observe untouchability they are equally infected as Hindus with the obnoxious belief that the Depressed Classes are born to an inferior social status and that their attempt to raise themselves above is an affront and an insult which required to be put down.

Dr. Ambedkar right from his entry into public life always supported the strong centre vise-vis the provincial governments. In his memorandum to the Simon Commission on Indian polity as a member of the Bombay legislative assembly he stated the following:

"While I am anxious to see that there should be established complete provincial autonomy, I am opposed to any change which will in any way weaken the central government or which will impair its national character or obscure its existence in the eye of the people. Holding this view I am against making the central Government a league composed of a number of governments bound together to constitute for certain purposes a single body." He further added that:

"My conception of the position of the central government will not permit to reconcile myself even to such a form of relationship as is found in the American constitution in which the central government is a commonwealth as well as a union of commonwealth. It is true that under it the central government acts immediately upon every individual through its courts and executive officers. But it is equally true that the central government in the United States is a creature of the states. Having been called into existence by the states it must stand or fall with the states. The states retain all the powers which they have not expressly surrendered. The central government has no more powers than those that have been conferred upon it by law. Such a central government, howsoever stronger it may be than a central government in a league, will not in my opinion be strong enough for the needs of India. Indeed the position of the central government should be so independent that not only it should survive even when all provincial Governments have vanished or changed into wholly different bodies but it should have the power to carry on provincial administration when a provincial government by rebellion or otherwise has ceased to function. Consequently on this aspect of the question I make the following recommendations:

(1) That all residuary powers must be with the central government.

(2) That there must be a specific grant of power to the central government to coerce a recalcitrant or a rebellious

province acting in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the country.

(3) That all powers given to the provincial government in case of its non-functioning shall return to the central government and

(4) That the election to the central legislative shall be direct.

His prophetic words on the temperament and functioning of bureaucracy in India written in the memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission (1928) still stand true in matters of Indian bureaucracy of today (2012). He wrote:

"My view is that the disadvantages arising from the class (caste) bias of the officers belonging to Brahmin and allied castes [caste Hindus] has outweighed all the advantages attending upon their efficiency and that on the total they have done more harm than good.

……..The struggle that is going on between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins, between Hindus and Mohamedans between touchables and untouchables for the destruction of all inequalities and the establishment of equality with all their bitterness cannot leave the judges, magistrates, civil servants and the police without being influenced in their judgment as to the right or wrong of these struggles. Being members of the struggling communities they are bound to be partisans, with the result that there may be a great loss in the confidence reposed by the public in their servants.

Dr. Ambedkar here quoted Gokhale who used to say that Indians under the foreign rule are suffering all kinds of humiliation and are leading the life of hewers of water and cutters of wood. Can we not say that under the Brahmanical system of caste ridden Hindu society the untouchables are leading a life of hewers of water and cutters of wood for years together? Caste Hindus stood against untouchables entering into government services and their children entering into schools. These considerations are in no way different from the considerations that were urged in favour of Indianisation.

In the conclusion of his memorandum to the Simon Commission which he submitted independently he stated that:

(1) There should be no separation of Karanataka and Sind from the Bombay presidency.

(2) There shall be no communal representation in the executive. Ministers should be amenable to courts of law for illegal acts. The constitution should provide for the impeachment of the Ministers. The executive should be presided over by the prime minister and not by the governor. The Governor should have the position of a constitutional head. He should have no emergency powers.

(3) There should be adult franchise and the legislature should be wholly elective.

(4) Indianisation of services should be more rapid. In the course of Indianisation of services arrangement should be made for the fulfillment of claims of the backward classes.

The separate representation adequately of the backward classes in the legislature is a protection to those classes and hence Dr. Ambedkar prepared the case in his political memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission on behalf of the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha, and submitted the same on 28th May 1928. The gist of the memorandum is as follows:

"The Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha- the Depressed Classes Institute, feels relieved of great anxiety by the decision of English Parliament not to appoint an Indian on the statutory commission. …that was because the Sabha felt that it was too much to hope for in a country where those in charge of the affairs from the viceroy downward have cultivated the habit of recognizing the noisy few and forgetting the dumb millions. The government of India imagines that the politicians who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field. In the opinion of the Sabha this exclusion of Indians from the statutory commission was no small mercy to the

Depressed Classes. By their non-appointment the Depressed Classes have been saved from their prejudices which would have worked against their case."

Right from his evidence before the south borough committee in Jan.1919 he was demanding the enlargement of voting to adult franchise. Here also in his report to Simon Commission he pleaded for accepting the principle of adult franchise. In his view if only a limited number of people are voters it makes the mockery of responsible government. In his view it was a matter of regret that the Indian National Congress which was demanding responsible government was not seriously vocal in demanding the adult franchise though sometimes some resolutions were adopted to that effect. However, the fact remains that the question of franchise occupies a very subordinate place in congress politics as compared to the question of transfer of power. The franchise was so vital a question that upon its determination alone could depend the degree of the transfer of political power. He argued further that:

"Franchise means the right to determine the terms of associated life. The very exigencies of representative government demand that the franchise must be fixed low as to bring it within the reach of the large majority of the poor and the oppressed sections of society. Indeed adult franchise is the only system of franchise. This can be in keeping with the true meaning of that term.

When the Simon Commission visited Poona Dr. Ambedekar and Dr. Solanki were interviewed by Sir Simon on 23rd October, 1928in the presence of all the members of the central committee and also the members of the Bombay provincial committee. Initially there was a discussion over the strength of the untouchables in Bombay presidency and here by quoting the figure given in the census report of 1921 which comes to 28,00,000/- was considered agreeably important.

Then the Chairman (Simon) asked Dr. Ambedkar that taking that figure of population for granted what is that he wanted to represent as the proper way in which the constitution of India, and more particularly the constitution of Bombay presidency, should deal with these people (untouchables)?

Dr. Ambedkar answered:

"The first thing I would like to submit that we claim that we must be treated as a distinct minority, separate from the Hindu community. Our minority character has been hitherto concealed by our inclusion in the Hindu Community, but as a matter of fact there is really no link between the depressed classes and the Hindu community. The first point, therefore, I would stress before the conference is that we must be regarded as a distinct and independent minority. Secondly, I should like to submit that the depressed classes minority needs for greater political protection than any other minority in British India, for the simple reason that it is educationally very backward, it is economically poor, socially enslaved and suffers certain grave political disabilities, from which no other community suffers. Then I would submit that, as a matter of demand for our political protection, we claim representation on the same basis as the Mohamedan minority. We claim reserved seats if accompanied by adult franchise. If the provision of adult franchise is not possible, then we would ask for separate electorates. He then added further that we would like to have certain safeguards either in the constitution, if it is possible, or else in the way of advice in the instrument to the Governor regarding the education of the depressed classes and their entry into the public services.

Dr. Ambedkar's claim that the Depressed Classes be regarded from the point of view of the constitution as a distinct and separate community from others who are within Hinduism was a big blast against Hindu orthodoxy and the news flashed out as a thunder bold in the news papers of the day.

On the question put by the chairman whether his stand point is based on his view that the Depressed Classes cannot expect to have their interests satisfactorily represented by the higher ranks of Hinduism Dr. Ambedkar's reply was that is one ground, but as a matter of fact, really we cannot be deemed to be part of Hindu Community.

It is thus as an elected member of seven member committee of the Bombay Legislative Assembly to assist Simon Commission in its visit to the important centre's in Bombay presidency Dr. Ambedkar gave an extensive interview to the Simon Commission in which he elaborately explained the socio-economic and political condition of the untouchables of India in general and of the Bombay presidency in particular. Miserable condition of the untouchables which he described gave perhaps the first hand close and readymade information to the members of the Simon Commission particularly its chairman and it worked well in convincing the Commission at least to some extent about his urge and humanism for the upliftment of the untouchables from their age old slavery. The extensive interview of Dr. Ambedkar must have also helped in introducing some change in the opinion of Sir Simon which he had opined in his reception at Ooty that the problem of untouchables was mainly a social problem the idea which perhaps he had borrowed from the opt repeated saying of the caste Hindu leaders.

It is this which might have paved the way for his inclusion in the list of members to represent Indian constitutional problems in the Round Table Conference that was to hold in England soon.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
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Poybawadi, Parel, Mumbai

I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden, now Parth be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 2nd] Friday, Dated 16th Nov. 1928 [issue1st

Self - Introduction
Support To Dr. Ambedkar's Mahar Vatan Bill

On Sunday, dated 19 - 8 - 28 a public meeting of the untouchables was held in the library hall on clerk Road Mumbai. Dr. Ambedkar was congratulated for introducing the Mahar Vatan Bill in the Bombay Assembly and it has been resolved in the meeting that the government is requested to accept the Bill without any modification in it.

On Sunday, dated 30 – 9 – 28 a public meeting of the untouchables was held in B.I.T. chawl on Foras Road. Shri Deorao Naik presided over the meeting. The following resolutions were passed in the meeting:

Support to the Mahar Vatan Bill introduced by Dr. Ambedkar Saheb in the Bombay legislative Assembly and urge to the M. L. Cs to pass the Bill. It also resolved to thank the Bombay Municipal body for abolishing caste distinctions in the schools run by the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

On Saturday, dated 25 – 8 – 28 a meeting took place at 7

P.M. in the Damodar Hall at Poyabawadi under the presidentship of shri Devarao Naik. The meeting passed a resolution of supporting the Mahar Vatan Bill introduced in Bombay Assembly by Dr. Ambedkar.

On Sunday, dated 30 – 9 – 28 at 9 P.M. on behalf of Somavamshiya brothers of Janjira princely state a meeting of the untouchables was organized under the chairmanship of shri Sitaram Namdeo Shivatarkar. The support was accorded to the Mahar Vatan Bill introduced by Dr. Ambedkar in the Bombay Assembly.

On Sunday, dated 28 – 10 – 28 a huge public meeting of the Vatan holding Mahars was organized at Wal Pakhadi under the chairmanship of shri D. V. Pradhan and all unanimously supported the Mahar Vatan Bill introduced in the Assembly by Dr. Ambedkar.

About 1000 Vatan holding people attended the meeting.

On Saturday, dated 3 – 11 – 28 the meeting of the Vatan holding Mahars was held in the general Hospital under the chairmanship of shri B. V. Pradhan in which the support was extended whole heartedly to the Vatan Bill introduced in the Assembly by Dr. Ambedkar.

On Sunday, dated 7 – 10 – 28 a meeting of the untouchables was organized at 4 P.M. under the chairmanship of shri Devarao Naik and the support was extended to the Vatan Bill. After the meeting the inter-dinning among the touchables and untouchables took place together.

At Kherdi, Taluka Dapoli the Mahars of Panvel Taluka met in the meeting on 23 – 10 – 28 under the chairmanship of shri Dharma Mahadu Jalgaonkar. The meeting endorsed its support to the Mahar Vatan Bill.

At Raigad, dated 23 – 10 – 28 the meeting of the Vatan holding Mahars took place under the chairmanship of shri Krishna Sayaji Shinde. The following resolution was passed. This meeting supports the Mahar Vatan Bill introduced by Dr. Ambedkar Saheb and the Bill be passed as early as possible.

At Jine Vatani Mahars met in a meeting under the chairmanship of shri Kudavalkar and supported the Mahar Vatan Bill.

On 3 – 11 – 28 in the general hospital compound near Boribandar the meeting of the untouchables took place under the chairmanship of shri D. V. Pradhan. The resolution in support of the Mahar Vatan Bill and on other social reforms was passed.

On 10 – 11 – 28 in Vanjar lane at Kolaba a meeting of the untouchables took place under the chairmanship of shri U. A. Kadam and it gave its support to the Mahar Vatan Bill introduced in the Assembly.

From The Next Issue The Letters of Lokhitawadi Will Be Published

The Mahar Vatan Conference of The Bombay Presidency

The above mentioned conference is going to be organized in the first week of December. In this conference an address of honour will be given to the Hon. Governor of Bombay and to Dr. Ambedkar. There is no need of telling it how important this conference is. The people from all over the presidency are supporting this conference. Many Mahar brothers have given their financial support so far. I thank them on behalf of the Mahar Vatan conference. It is hoped that those Mahar brothers who have not yet helped the conference financially will do so. The work is such an important one that it needs the help by real action rather that by mere words. The

Mahars will be immensely benefited by the abolition of Mahar Vatan. We hope that by knowing this our Mahar brothers will come forward to help the conference financially.

Yours humble social servant

Nivratinath Tulsiram Jadhav
President Mahar Vatan Conference
Mumbai.

Donations Given For the Bahishkrit Bharat Press Fund

Donations given in the meeting held at Matunga labour camp on 28 – 2 – 28.

Daval Balu Savale	Rs. 20
Sadu Krishna Jadhav	Rs. 10
Nimba Devaji	Rs. 10

Those who donated Rs. 5 were about 18 people whose names are mentioned here.

Rs. 4 was donated by Shri Sambhu Bharve Chitegaonkar.

Rs. 3 were donated by (1) Sakhubai Chambhar (dancer) (2) Kalubai Nayakin (dancer) and (3) Shivaji Narayan Nikam.

Those who donated Rs. 2 were 59 in number and their names are mentioned here.

Those who donated one rupee each were 21 in number.

The total amount thus collected was Rs. 276 and Annas 11.

A meeting took place at a place called Chamber Kacharapati on 18 – 3 – 28. Donations given in the meeting were as follows:

Tiffin Suppliers	Rs. 200
Laxman Tukaram Pagare	Rs. 10

There were 5 people who donated Rs. 5 each and their names are mentioned here.

There were 23 people who donated Rs. 2 each and their names are mentioned here.

The people who gave Rupee one each were 78 in number.

The donation collected here was in all Rs. 356.

A meeting took place at Washind, Thane on 31 – 3 – 28. The donation collected in the meeting is mentioned below:

Rs. 10 were given by four people each.

Rs. 5 were given by 6 people each and their names are mentioned here.

There were three persons who donated Rs. 2 ½ each and their names are mentioned here.

The people who donated Rs. 2 each were 12 in number and their names are mentioned here.

The people who donated one rupee each were 23 in number and their names are mentioned here.

Total amount Rs. 139 was collected at the meeting held at Pune on 8 – 11 – 28.

Sakharam Phiranguji Barathe gave Rs. 14.

The following members donated Rs. 10 each.

(1) Hariba Shivram Dabale

(2) Subhedar Hiraji Dhotre

(3) Shri Sachidanand Bhajan Group

Rs. 5 each were donated by 13 people. Rs. 4 were given by one shri Jayaram Tatyaba Aihat, Hadpesar. Rs. 2 were donated by 27 people each.

Appreciable Inter - Caste Marriage.

On Dasara (Vijaya Dasmi) day there took place an inter - caste marriage in Pune. The name of the bride is Laxmibai Kamble and she belongs to the Mahar community (caste). The name of the bride-groom is Dattaram Ranganath Upasak and he belongs to the Maratha caste.

Such marriages are necessary to remove the ill feelings of the castes among themselves.

Collection of Information on Different Subjects

Union to Struggle
For
India's Freedom

Declaration of Bengal Branch

Complete Freedom – Political

Social- (1) The annihilation of caste means the end of the practice of untouchability; allowing the use of roads and wells to all; allowing everybody to enter the temples; inter-dinning and inter- caste marriages (2) Freedom of women- it means the end of the Parda system; giving them education compulsorily with compulsory physical education; freedom of remarriage for the windows; equal rights to both men and women and reform in the law of giving freedom to women (3) Abolition of the system of polygamy; encouragement to inter-state marriages; the age limit for marriage of both men and women must be raised and their age limit must be determined; dowry system must be forbidden by law; (4) Hereditary priesthood must be abolished; encouragement to everybody to perform his religious rites by himself as far as possible without the aid of the traditional priest.

Economic- Main principles- (A) To remove economic Inequality (B)Equal distribution of wealth (C) Equal opportunity to all for their progress (D) To improve everybody's standard of life.

Programme- (1) To increase the production by using machinery and encourage the growth of home industries. (2) Nationalization of important industries. (3) Nationalization of railways, ships and planes. (4) The workers will have the right to participate in the Industries management in the appointment of the workers and in the removal of the workers. (5) The workers should get the share in the profit of the industry. (6) There should be an important committee to work to avoid lock-outs, strikes and quarrels. (7) Put a limit on the individual property and tax the hereditary property. (8) Provide loans through co-operative society. (9) It should be 8 hours day for the factory workers. (10) The people of old age an unemployed men should receive stipend from the government. (11) By giving house facility and other amenities of life the condition of the workers should be improved. (12) The land tax should be the same everywhere. (13) The government should assure that the land tax will be the same everywhere. (14) By giving compensation to the landlord and farm worker they should be freed from the farm. (15) The farmer should be freed from the money lender by paying their loan.

Maharashtra Branch

Policy And Programme- (1) since the congress is going to be the only political party in free India the members of this union must establish their control over all the organizations of the congress.

(2) The congress must declare that India should become a free nation after five years. This time limit is necessary to increase the activity of the Sangh-union.

(3) In this period of interregnum the organization must prepare the nation to launch the movement of Satyagraha, non-co-operation, non Payment of taxes, public strikes in a peaceful manner.

(4) If the following constructive programme is implemented it will help the nation to prepare itself for the struggle for India's freedom. (1) To oppose the caste practices from all direction. (2) To produce the national volunteers corps. (3) To start movement for equality to enable everybody to exercise his civil rights freely. (4) Form unions of labourers and farmers. (5) Nationalization of main and key industries of production. (6) Giving the local self- governments national character by taking possession of them. (7) To bring constructive programme of the congress into practice by giving priority to the programme of the eradication of the untouchability and the use of Khadi.

(5) To secure sympathy and recognition of Asiatic Nations to India as an independent entity and also to our freedom struggle this union of freedom struggle should send its delegation to the different Asiatic Nations. Similarly the union should send its delegation to the conference of the Asiatic nation to be soon organized in Kabul.

Constitution:-

(1) The name of the Sangh (union) should be India's freedom struggling organization.

(2) In all the linguistic states as decided by the congress this organization should have its branches. There should be a paid clerk in all these branches and his pay should be less than Rs.75.

(3) The provincial branch should establish district branch and there should be the co-ordination between both the branches.

(4) The Provincial branch should appoint a propagator for each district paying him not more than Rs. 50.

(5) While appointing the secretary for the province and propagator for the district the social work done by them should be taken into account.

(6) To decide the work to be done next year in the month of January the meeting of the provincial members should be called and it is in this meeting the president of the provincial committee and its members should be elected.

7) To continue the work of the organization (Sangh) furthers the donation of Rs. Two Lakhs should be collected and all this money should be deposited in the office of the organization. This money should be supplied to the people who carry on the movement as per their need.

Suggestion to the Subscriber

All money orders and the correspondence should be sent to manager Bahishkrit Bharat by mentioning their register number without fail. The reply will not be sent unless a ticket of one Anna is sent. A subscriber should not pay his subscription without taking the receipt.

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT
(untouchable India)
16 November 1928

So Long As We Were Under Your Power You Ridiculed Us

On the auspices of Dasara day dated 23rd October 1928 both Dr. Ambedkar and Dr. Solanki appeared before the Simon Commission and gave their evidence on behalf of the untouchable communities. They placed four demands on behalf of the untouchables before the commission.

(1)The complete self government should be established in Bombay presidency. (2) The untouchables should not be included among the Hindus. They should be regarded as separate people. (3) In the reformed legislative council the representatives of the untouchable should be equal in number with the number of the Muslims. (4) There is no provision to protect the rights of the untouchables some provision should be made to protect their rights by law.

Hindus are making hue and cry after these demands were published in the news paper. One reason why Hindus are furious against us is that we have made the demand that the untouchables should be regarded as separate people from the caste Hindus.

Those who are annoyed with us must convince how and in what way the untouchables are connected with the Hindus. To show the oneness among any people the practice of inter-dinning and inter-caste marriages in society are the essential factors. These two factors are not at all in practice between the touchables and untouchables. If anybody says that these two practices should be started in Hindu society the anger and wrath of caste Hindus rises up to the highest degree to oppose the proposition. Both touchables and untouchables must be living under the shadow of the same religion. But the difference in their culture is quite visible even to a lay man. Society and civilization are two different categories.

There is no cementing thing between the touchables and the untouchables. Untouchables may be within Hindus but they are certainly not within the Hindu fold. They are different from the Hindus. Considering this existing condition in Hindu society the suggestion has been made that the untouchables should be regarded as different people from the Hindus. What is wrong in this suggestion? It is a matter of great surprise that the Hindus who never felt love for untouchables are suddenly feeling sympathetic towards them. The Hindus who are shouting now towards us that we should not leave Hinduism, we should remain in Hinduism to them our question is what is the relation between you and us? There is no relation between the two. Those who are socially different from you why should you object to their politically being different? If you say that we are yours then what did you do for us till to this day?

If this kind of question is asked some Hindus who regard themselves as wise people say that they are engaged in introducing reforms among their women. Untouchables should wait for some time. Once we bring our women on the path of reform then with their help we can take up this problem. Neither their women will favour reforms nor will their men take up the cause of untouchables. And those among their women who are reform minded are not favourable to any programme of the eradication of the untouchability. This is shown by the internal working system of the institution called "Seva Sadan," at Pune. This is only means that they are conveniently using women problem as their lame excuse to side track the problem of the untouchables. Some others say that "Prarthana Samaj" has opened schools for the untouchables. How many students came out successfully by receiving or completing their education we have no knowledge of it. But these schools are closed now. But the same Prarthana Samaj has continued some orphanages. Someone has recently stated that he along with others dinned with untouchables in 1923. He must be either an innocent man or a big deceiver who takes this as a great event. All birds sit together under the roof of the sky and eat together. Is it a big event? In Irani Hotel Mahar and Brahman eat together without knowing each other. Does it mean that the Brahman does not regard Mahar's pollution? To say that two people sat under the tree and ate their food, therefore, the untouchability has disappeared is as ridiculous as two mad men teasing each other. Otherwise a Hindu who ate his food sitting near an untouchable in 1923 would not have gone on shouting in 1928 on the road that the religion has been spoiled merely because untouchables drank the water from the tank at Mahad. Hence it is better that the Hindus should stop making the mockery of anti-untouchability programme.

Some other people from the Hindus argue that it is admitted that caste Hindus have not done anything much for the improvement of untouchables but what have the Britishers done for their progress? Our answer is after all the English people are alien people. If they have not done anything we have no reason to be angry with them. But you (Hindus) say that they are our people. If occasion demands they call for us for their protection and for the protection of Arya Dharma and the Arya women. Therefore, our question is what the Hindus have done for us. The British Government is a foreign agency. They would not have done those things, in case of untouchables, which are based on people's opinion. But what the caste Hindus have done in case of untouchables without the aid of law? Did you open the Hindu temples for them? Did you throw schools open to them? Did you open public tanks and wells for them? English Government in India did not object to these things. These things are dependent on you. When to do all these things entirely depend on you did the caste Hindus do at least one thing from all these? Not only this but the Hindus never done anything to convert the Hindu opinion in favour of these programmes. The devotees of congress party did not pollute their mouth by uttering even the word untouchable up to 1917 though attaining Swarajya was their aim. They unnecessarily went on indulging in fruitless discussion whether reform or swarajya. When some people began saying that they demand Swarajya and suppress the untouchables they for namesake passed a resolution in Culcutta congress of 1917 condemning the practice of untouchability. But the resolution is lying in the dust there only till to this day. Thereafter there came a wave of Gandhiji's advent. In this wave there came up a formula that the untouchability is a blot on Hinduism. But Mahatma Gandhi gives utmost importance to spinning wheel. Therefore, Gandhiji did not give necessary importance to the programme of the removal of untouchability. We are doubtful whether Gandhiji has much earnest interest in the untouchability programme. He went on fast for 21 days when there was a riot between Hindus and Muslims. To propagate the use of Khadi he has made the use of Khadi compulsory to all those who wished to become the members of the congress organization. But he did not fast even for a day to show his opposition to the observation of untouchability. Or he did not say that those who do not observe the untouchability alone will be qualified to become the members of the congress organization. Recently in state conference making use of the utterance of Jawaharlal Nehru that religion must be separated from politics the provincial congress men even did not allow the subject of untouchability to figure in the state conference. Their young members separately took a meeting of youngsters and passed many resolutions making senior members panicky by their new resolutions but they too did not touch the problems of untouchables. Ultimately these young men turned towards Bardoli and the self-Government for India. They have no value of Mahad before Bardoli movement. Let these Hindus not do anything for the untouchables but when the untouchables themselves try to do something for their own good they try to put poison in it and spoil it. The castes Hindus neither help the untouchables nor do they encourage them when they themselves try to do something. On the contrary they harass them. Seva Sadan started and run by caste Hindus get donation of money in lacks but the Depressed Classes Mission Started for the benefit of the untouchables gets nothing for any philanthropist. If the untouchables try to do something for their own welfare they are cornered and harassed whenever possible. After the Mahad episode the Ḳhots (land lords) in Kolaba and Ratnagiri districts removed the Mahars from their lands and made them landless. The villagers have stopped the Mahars from coming to the shops in villages. Caste Hindus do not allow the Mahars to pass through their lands. The Mahars are suffering there under social boycott declared by the caste Hindus against them. Those that have any doubt about our saying should personally pay their visits to these two districts and see the precarious condition in which the Mahars are placed in these two districts. In some villages the caste Hindus have mercilessly attacked the Mahars and have beaten even the children and women. And what is the cause of this atrocity? The causes are that the Mahars have given up eating carrion. They are wearing thread around their neck like the caste Hindus. Many are leading a clean life by wearing clean cloths.

Now a days some high caste Hindus are showing some concern with the problem of the untouchables. But their love for untouchable's condition is not for untouchables problems but it is for their own selfishness. If the untouchables leave Hinduism and enter other religion his position enhances whereas in Hinduism when an outsider enters it he gets his position degraded. A low caste man in Hinduism will not acquire position unless he leaves that religion. As long as an untouchable is in Hinduism his life is meaner than animal life. The movement he leaves Hinduism he attains equality with all other human beings. This clearly shows that "The Hinduism Is a Curse to Untouchables." when the untouchables are enduring the curse uttered on them by the Hinduism why should the untouchables worry about the problems of Hinduism? In fact Hinduism is a sinful thing in the world it is better if its condition is weakened. It is better if Hinduism remains confined to its own region. But it will not be so. It will sow the seeds of its sin wherever it will go. Giving shelter to Hindu religion is a calamity on human race. Leading a life of association of Hinduism is like leading a life in hell. Therefore, the representatives of the untouchables have decided to break away from it.

In fact the untouchables should have opposed the proposal that they should be treated as separate people from the touchables but they have not done it. Their main objection to the evidence given before the Simon Commission is that the representatives of the untouchables should not have supported the demand of swarajya in their evidence. Though they have not made this statement openly we have heard about their opposition to the demand in their private discussion. The origin of this objection is that in their opinion:

"English People Are Better Than the Hindus"

Perhaps Hindus are not aware how deep rooted is this feeling among the untouchables. The untouchables believe that English rule is a Ram-Rajya (Rule of lord Rama). There are concrete reasons why this feeling is deep rooted in their heart. Under peshwa rule in order to avoid the spoiling of the earth by their spittle the untouchables were required to tie the earthen pot in their neck; as a mark of their identity they had to tie a black thread to the wrist, to erase their foot print they had to tie a broom to their waist to avoid polluting the Hindus, they had to run away to a distance if the Hindu was passing through the road. When they will compare such a rule with English rule in India the untouchables are bound to hate peshwa rule and feel love for English rule. This way tired of the atrocities of the Hindus over them if the untouchables have gone to the shelter of the English rule in India there is nothing wrong. Untouchables are worried whether Hindu rule under swarajya will take them back to the old days of their harassment and slavery. Under the circumstances if the untouchables are not much favourable to the demand of swarajya their stand should not be considered blameworthy. However our request to our untouchable friends who solely depend upon the good wish of the English rulers to examine their stand to what extent their stand is correct. Are they sure that the English Government will stand firmly with them in helping to solve their problems? For this the untouchables should examine the record of what has the British Government done for them so far.

More than hundred years have gone to the establishment of English Rule in Bombay Presidency. During this period has the untouchability which has deprived your humanity has been abolished? Did the British Government uplift you from the depth of ignorance and illiteracy in which your countrymen had placed you for thousands of years? Your entry was prohibited in the government services did they lift it up? Did they make any efforts to remove your grinding poverty in which you lived years together? The answers to all these questions in our opinion are negative. Whatever little changes that have occurred during English rule are the results of change in time. We do not accept the view that these few changes that have occurred are not due to any purposeful efforts. Not only this but it's our considered opinion that it is wrong to except that English Government can do anything for the welfare of the untouchables. it is not that English Government does not have power to do anything towards the progress of the untouchables. Had they taken up the problems of untouchables seriously they would have removed the practice of untouchability from all the public places within no time. They would have recruited them in army, navy in other government services. Had they taken to their mind the education would have spread among the untouchables enormously and by now no body from among the untouchables would have remained illiterate. By giving the untouchables forest and other government land for cultivation the Government would have made them economically self supporting and happy. The English Government did nothing out of these things. Some untouchables may say that the British Government did not do all these things because these things would have displeased the high caste Hindus. But in our view making the Hindus the cause of their not doing anything for the progress of untouchables is merely their lame excuse. Of course the English rulers and some others also believe that so long as there is a social conflict and social quarrels among the various social groups in this country there is a need of the continuation of English rule in India. The English rulers in India also know that the English rule will have to end with the end of these conflicts and quarrels. When there is a relation between the social conflicts and the continuation of the British rule in India naturally the tendency of the British rulers is to perpetuate these social conflicts in Indian society as these are now going on. By taking advantage of the caste Hindu opposition to the progress of the untouchables the British Government is keeping its hands up. It is wrong to suppose that the English Government is afraid of the caste Hindus. During the Mutiny of 1857 it killed the Hindus and Muslims like ants and rats. To put down the

Indian's opposition to Rowlett Act it gunned down men and women mercilessly. Therefore nobody believes that English Government is afraid of doing anything good for the untouchables due to the opposition of the caste Hindus to the interest of the untouchables. And if the English Government is really afraid of the caste Hindu opposition to it if it does anything good to the untouchables why should the untouchables depend upon such a government? Due to the fear or selfishness if the English Government which does not want to do anything good to us then what is the reason that we should argue that let the power be in their hands. Had this power been in the hands of the untouchables they would not have kept quite without doing anything. Untouchables alone can do something for the untouchables. English will never do the kind of work which the untouchables can do for the untouchables. Therefore it is better that the untouchables instead of depending upon others it is better that they should follow the path of self-help. Here lies the real path of success in life. Therefore, the untouchables should take up this responsibility on their own instead of depending upon others. Therefore, instead of depending upon the alien people for our progress we should take this work on our own and work for it seriously. Wise man is he who takes up the responsibility of his welfare on his own. Under the rule of both, the Hindus and the British the untouchables have led a ridiculous life. And hence the

Untouchables Must Adopt Self-help As Their Only Aim.

The evidence which Dr. Ambedkar and Dr. Solanki had given before the Simon Commission in that they have stated self-help as the only road leading the untouchables to the sure path of their progress. And hence their demand was that the Government should establish such reforms by which the people will get power in their hands. On this demand some untouchables may likely to object that the injustice which the British Government has arrested in social, economic and political fields will be let loose and it will be detrimental to the lower classes. And the swarajya would be the high caste Hindu rule on the lower classes. This doubt is not very much worth considering because while making demand the care has been taken to see that there will be some share of the depressed classes and other lower classes in the coming swarajya. We have placed our demand for sufficient number of representatives of the depressed classes in the council. If our plan suggested before the Simon Commission becomes successful there will occur a revolutionary change among the untouchable communities. According to our plan the coming swarajya would not be the rule of touchables over the untouchables. The untouchables will also have their share in the governance of the country. Hence, the untouchables instead of showing their displeasure should think over our proposals to the commission.

Due to our co-operation with Simon Commission the so called Nationalistic Press is shouting against us that the untouchables are anti-national. Like other Indians we also feel that the British Government has insulted India for not appointing any Indian on Simon Commission. The untouchables too have their sense of self-respect and they feel for it. But we know it for better that had the Government appointed any Indian he would have been a member coming from the caste Hindus and he was bound to oppose the demands made by us. We feel sorry that it is because of this dilemma we had to remain away from the boycott programme of the caste Hindus. What would have been the stand of caste Hindu leader if he had been on the Simon Commission as its member can be seen from the views of Nehru Report published just on the eve of the working of the Simon Commission? What concessions have been given in the Nehru Report for the untouchables? In Nehru Report the problems of untouchables did not acquire that much importance which the Muslim problems has acquired. The Nehru committee freed itself by tying the problem of untouchables with the sympathy of the caste Hindus. Why did the Nehru committee not understand that the sympathy of the caste Hindus towards untouchables is mischievous and deceptive? The Nehru committee has given the opinion that the problem of untouchables is a social problem and this problem can be solved only by education. Had the members of the Nehru committee or their kith and kin been in the Simon Commission what have happened in Nehru Committee Report in matters of untouchables perhaps the same would have been repeated there also. The cause of the untouchables would have definitely suffered had these people been there on the Simon Commission. Hence thinking that the commission of Non-Hindi members is preferable to the untouchables and to the people of lower castes in India we have decided to work with the Simon Commission in our own way. Those who brand us as anti-national should consider all these points raised above by us and then only should come forward to blame us. Untouchables will not be intimidated now by using the words like anti-national, Brahman haters etc. against them. Unless you be one with our interests how can we be one with your interests? We are not the haters of anybody but we know who hate us. If our demand for some political power to do away with the injustice that is being done to us is Brahman hating or anti-national we will do that without bothering for anybody's opposition to us.

Timely Thinking

1. We have already published the Manifestoes of Hindu freedom Organization of Bengal and Maharashtra branches in this issue elsewhere. If these manifestoes are read in comparison with each other the reader will understand things much better. The manifesto of Bengal branch has followed the views of Nehru the founder of the organization in Toto whereas the branch in Maharashtra has gone on the views of Tilak and Chiplunkar.

2. The views of Tilak and Chiplunkar are well known. They support political reform and oppose social reform. The social reform programme that was favoured by Agarkar and others was opposed by Tilak and his men tooth and nail. The efforts of Agarkar were not strong enough. Moreover his reforms covered only the reforms in Brahmin families. It does

not seem that his reform tried to cover the reforms in lower classes. The views of Tilak on social reform are well- known. In a social reform conference Tilak had refused to sign a pledge that he will implement the programme of anti-untouchability in his family. If by inter-dinning the caste quarrels would have ended then why the brothers who eat in the same plate should quarrel was his logic. For his good fortune that there was no much awakening among lower classes during his time. Therefore, whatever Tilak spoke was listened with applaud. Taking advantage of the ignorance of the masses Tilak also drove them to any direction of his movement that he liked. He spread among the masses the idea that the work of social reform is anti-national. Today those who call themselves the followers of Tilak are the men of this idea. However because of changing time and growing awakening among the untouchables some people are changing their outlook. But we do not believe that their nature of traditional behavior will change so easily.

3. All those who are the victims of Tilakite tradition, he may be a Brahman, Parsi, Christian, or an untouchable will talk in abundance about the political reform but in matters of social reforms his brain will not work to move ahead. And if at all it works it will be in the manner of going ahead by 4 Kilometers and coming back by 10 Kilometers. The Hindu unity movement which is going on now a days is functioning in this manner only. In fact the ideal of Hindu Sanghatan shows that it wishes to strengthen Hindu society but its actual work is such that it in reality is following the way of strengthening Brahmanism in Hindu society. Thus this tradition has made the path of social reform more difficult in Maharashtra. In other provinces of India the reformers have to make the direct confrontation with the traditional conservative reactionaries but here in Maharashtra the reformers have to fight those who outwardly pretend to be forward looking but in reality are very much backward looking reactionaries in matter of social reform. Such reactionaries whether they are in Congress or in Hindu sanghatan (unity) or in the union of freedom strugglers, they are like the tail of the dog and their behaviour will always be zigzagging in matters of social reform. The manifesto of

Maharashtra branch of union of freedom struggle is an indication of this trend of thinking.

4. In the manifesto of Bengal branch on Indian freedom struggle union the equal importance has been given to the issue of social reform along with the issue of political freedom of the country. But the manifesto of Maharashtra branch of union has kept mum over the issue of social reform. There is an utterance in the declaration that the union will help the untouchables to secure their just rights. In case untouchables themselves agitate to secure their rights then the union will oppose this agitation because opposing caste agitations is also the aim of the union. The leader of the union of the freedom movement Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is also opposed to all caste organizations. But he does not include the agitations of untouchables and non-Brahmins in caste organizations. Perhaps he knows that these are the movements to secure social rights to the under privileged. But the Tilakite members of this union do not share these views of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It is important to remember that many members of the union of freedom struggle are also the members of Brahman Sabha. In fact if there is any real caste based organization it is the Brahman Sabha. If there are any untouchable's organizations or of the non- Brahmins these are of defensive nature. Untouchables and non- Brahmins are struggling to secure their human rights. It is not their purpose of depriving others rights and making them slaves. But the followers of Tilakite traditions make the organizations of untouchables and non-Brahmins the caste organizations and brand them. But their Brahman Sabha which is established to continue their supremacy over the rest of the society is proclaimed as national organization. Hence the members of the Brahman Sabha can become the members of the union of freedom struggle. This is the result of the impact of Tilak and Chiplunkar on Maharashtra branch of the union of freedom struggle. This did not happen in the Bengal branch of the union due to the impact of Deshbandha Das, Ravindranath Tagore etc. The Bengal branch of the union of freedom struggle has accepted the programme of inter-dinning and inter-caste marriages in its movement. This union has also taken out its

sword against the caste system. The Maharashtra branch of the union is perverting the ideals and programme of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Maharashtra.

5. The surprising thing is that it is these people who are branding us as antinational due to our co-operation on behalf of the untouchables with the Simon Commission. In fact the real antinational people are these so called patriots. It is these people who have kept a big section of the society in the country suppressed for their own selfishness. It is these people to whom we call as Brahmanised. In fact the feeling of caste superiority (Brahmanical feeling) is more dominant in Indian politics than the feeling of touchability and untouchability in practice. The maintenance of caste superiority is the struggle that goes on in Indian politics today among the upper caste men in India. These Brahmanised leaders know it well that real blow to their leadership will come from the side of the untouchables. And hence they find it difficult to lift up the bycott under which the untouchables have been placed. Ignorance and the Bramanised socio-religious views and practices among the Non-Brahmins are proving beneficial to them. The Brahmanised people are unwilling to work against the Brahmanical socio-religious practices among the Non- Brahmins because that works as a deterrent to the liberation movement of the untouchables. Hence these Brahmanical leaders are unwilling to work against the Brahmanical practices of the Non-Brahmins.

6. We agree that the Non-Brahmins are still the victims of the practice of touchability and untouchability. But if the proper efforts are made it is easy to change their thought and practice in this regard. In Dadar, Bombay, the other day the association of Lokhitawadi celebrated the Hindu festival called "Nauratra" in which the people of all castes had participated in worshipping the deity. The touchables did not object to the untouchables when the untouchables worshipped the deity in the same manner in which the high caste Hindus also worshipped. But in the same Dadar during days of Ganapati festival when the untouchables expressed their desire to worship the deity by going near the image of the deity to offer

flowers and other worshipping material the Brahmans stated that if this happens there will be murders, fightings and bloodshed. This was a mere threat. The defect lies not with the people but with the leaders. If the leaders of the touchables take it on their own and work seriously it will not take much time to remove the practice of touchability and the untouchability prevailed in Hindu society.

7. But the real fact is that the leaders of the touchables do not want to do away with the practice of untouchability. Its reason is that Brahmanism is their very blood in their socio-religious practices. Whether it is any social association or national movement or any other public association there the caste domination is the very nature of their compositions. It is these caste dominated men that have spoiled the whole show of the social and national associations. If the Brahmanism is not the important factor in any association or in any movement then there ends the whole show of such organizations. They follow Brahmanism not only at home but even in public life and also in cemetery. Not only this but they even go to the extent of saying that if their Brahmanism is not surviving in Swarajya they will vie with that Swarajya. And what is this Brahmanism? It is the Brahmanical dominance standing on the ignorance of Bahujan Samaj (Non-Brahmins). At any cost the untouchables are not prepared to keep the Brahmanism surviving. The up holders of Brahmanism are trying to harm the interest of the low caste men in India for their own selfishness. And it is these men who are the real enemies of the nation. The existence of these men is a curse of saitan to India.

8. It is these anti-national people who tried to remove the programme of eradication of untouchability from the platform of the congress in Maharashtra under the pretext that the religion should not be mixed with politics. But their real treachery to the nation is different. In order to find it out one has to go to the organization of Hindu Maha Sabha. It is said that this movement has been started to protect the Hindus from the Muslims. But the real fact is quite different. If they wanted to strengthen Hinduism they should have removed the cause

of dividing forces from Hinduism. The practice of untouchability divides Hindus and weakens the strength of Hinduism. All their efforts are concentrated on Shudhi (reconversion) movement. It is a problem how many people who have gone to other religion will return to jump into the mud of Hinduism again. And if some of them return for how many days will they remain here is also a problem. But we have nothing to do with all that at this moment. At this juncture our interest is to see with what purpose this Shudhi movement has started. To increase the numerical strength of the Hindus is the real purpose behind Shudhi movement. By this movement some strength is going to grow in Hindu society. This movement in reality is the political movement to attain some political goal. To muster support of the non- Brahmins the religion has been inserted in the programme of the movement. These Bramanised leaders had played havoc in congress organization but since the advent of Gandhiji their influence in the congress organization has been waning day by day. Their hope of establishing Hindu Pad Padshahi has now become the thing of the past. Here in this side the awakening among the untouchables is also growing. It is in this circumstances these Bramanised leaders have taken up the cudgel of the shudhi movement in their hands. They are now working seriously to win over the non-Brahmins to their side. These Brahmnanical leaders are doing anti-national work in making their efforts to brahmanise the non-Brahmins.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
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Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
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I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden, now Parth be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 2nd] Friday, Dated 7th Dec. 1928 [issue2nd

Self Introduction
The Mahars Widely Support The Mahar Vatan Bill

A public meeting of untouchables was held on 13 – 10 – 28 at Muthavali, Tal. Rohe, Dist. Kolaba under the chairmanship of shri Sakharam Krishnaji Bhujabal. The Mahar Vatan Bill was unanimously supported in the meeting.

A similar meeting was held at Pune on 19 – 10 – 28 under the chairmanship of shri Tulsiram Yesuji Phulpagar and support was accorded to the Mahar Vatan Bill.

The Mahar Vatan Bill was also supported in the public meeting held at Ratnagiri Dist. Ratnagiri under the chairmanship of Subhedar Ghatge.

The Bill was supported widely by the Mahars organizing public meetings at various places such as:

Mopan - Tal. Dapoli – 28 – 10 - 28
Bhajang - Dist Kolaba – 29 – 10 – 28
Matvan - Dist Kolaba – 4 – 11 – 28
Chalisgaon - East Khandesh – 10 – 11 – 28

Tulsi - East Khandesh – 13 – 11 – 28
Goregaon - East Khandesh – 15 – 11 – 28
Khed - Dist Ratnagiri – 16 – 11 – 28
Samsherpur - Dist Ahemdnagar – 18 – 11 – 28
B.I.T. Chawl - Clerk Road Mumbai – 18 – 11 – 28
Chandanwadi - Clerk Road Mumbai – 24 – 11 – 28
Padrichi Chawl – Caral Road Mumbai – 25 – 11 – 28
Damodar Thakarsi Hall Mumbai – Mumbai – 29 – 11 – 28
Phatar Bandar - Mumbai – 1 – 12 – 28
Danda Road - Navi Pali Mumbai – 2 – 12 – 28

Lokhitwadi's Hundred Letters*

Letter No 1

Prabhakar Dated 19 March 1948

(This is the paper in which his writing appeared first.)

About The Misunderstanding of the Nature of English People.

A Special Request: - Recently it has been brought to our notice that the Brahmin fouzdars – inspectors that were appointed at Pune after the fall of peshwa rule their functioning is not satisfactory. The former inspector Balvantrao Govind has been proved to be a culprit in the dacoit case and has been punished accordingly. Hence the higher officers have taken the decision that hence forth they should not appoint a Brahman officer as they are not dependable and instead the Christians should take their place. Hence I am sending some information to be published in your paper so that the side of the Brahmans can be made clear.

The experience shows that the misbehaviour that the Brahmins indulged in is true. But the cause of their misbehaviour is not due to them. Because both good and bad men are there in each caste. But by searching good men of good conduct should be appointed on the position of power. There is a verse in the religious book called "Dharmashastri Vyavaharmayukh" which says that: "The king should appoint those men who are well studied, who have learnt much, who know religious knowledge, who always speak the truth and who are impartial to the core such people should be appointed to the position of power in the administration." Had the government appointed the Brahmins of above mentioned qualities this situation would not have occurred under the English rule the farmers are put to losses because the English government while appointing men on high position does not care much for the qualities of the candidates. The government does not care for the qualities, education and the behavioural side of the candidates. The corruption,napolism and dishonesty has grown in the administration due to the entry of improper men in the administration. It is true that the power of the state is now in the hands of the English people but they have very little knowledge of the condition here. It is true that they are learned, wise and impartial. But they have no knowledge of the languages and the condition of the country. Hence the natives who are the subordinate people working under the authority of English people play their role in the administration. It is these men who by and large deal with the work of the Rayats. It is because of these middle men direct contact of the Rayats with higher officers who are generally English men is rarely possible. It is these workers who work under the officers are selfish, corrupt and greedy and they are mostly the natives. It is these who harass the Rayats. Some times their bad activities are found out and they are punished for their bad acts, but this happens very rarely because these native workers are very shrewd and their wrong side is very rarely revealed. These workers pretend to work when the Saheb (officer) is present but behind his back their usual, many times corrupt activities continue. Their darkness in heart reveals itself as soon as the Saheb turns his face towards his head quarter. There are many senior and learned people in Poona but such people are rarely considered for appointment in government services. In this many low calibered and misfit men are appointed in the government in

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- *Lokhitwadi alias Gopal Hari Deshmukh was one of the early writers in Marathi on Reform in Hindu Society in 19th century Maharashtra.*

Pune. These men are mostly the Brahmins who have become the cause of Brahmin's defamation. If the king collects only the bad men around him how can the administration in kingdom run well? This was not so in earlier days, we have heard many good things about the administration of Peshwa Madhavrao. This shows that all men in Brahmin community are not bad. It is only during Bajirao's time the Brahmins became heinous. But yet there are many who love justice and are right thinking men. The English people make serious efforts in learning native languages, if they make similar serious efforts in searching out good men from the natives the things in administration will go well. Whenever there is a vacancy, the English officers without bothering much about the qualification of the available candidate, whoever is available he is appointed. This is so because if the news of the vacancy is leaked out the people come in for the appointment in hundreds. To avoid this trouble the officers hurriedly taken the action in filling up the vacancy. This damages the prestige of the appointing officer and the appointed man spoils the prestige of the community. We hope that the government will soon interfere in this wrong mode of appointing men and save the Brahmin community from the defamation. The English people are the men of searching quality. It is not difficult for them to reform this method in appointments. We will try to make some other suggestions to the government in the next letter.

Collection of Information on Various Subjects

A Committee to Enquire Into The Condition of Untouchables and Tribal's In Bombay Presidency

As per the suggestion made by Dr. Solanki the Bombay government in its last session has appointed a committee to enquire into the social, economic and educational condition of the untouchables and the tribals in Bombay presidency. The committee appointed is as follows:-

President : Mr. O.H. B. start I.C.S

Members : (1) Shri J. K. Mehta
(2) Dr. P. G. Solanki
(3) Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar
(4) shri L. M. Deshpande
(5) Shri Panditappa Chikodi
(6) Major Buphut, Muktifauj
(7) shri Amrutlal Thakkar
(8) shri N. A. Thorat
(9) shri D. A. Janvekar

The committee has started working from 15th November 1928. The committee is required to prepare its report within a year.

If anybody is interested in making any suggestion to this committee he should send his suggestions to Dr. Ambedkar so that the proper cognizance of the suggestion can be taken.

Nasik District Hindu Social Equality Organisation (Sangh)

This organization has been established on Dasara Day and its aims and objects are as follows:

(1) To remove caste differences between touchables and untouchables practiced since olden days.

(2) To bring it to the notice of all the people that the untouchables are Hindus and they have all the rights that the Hindus enjoy.

(3) By making all possible efforts the untouchables should be made equal with all others. The practice of inequality must end from the society.

To fulfill the above mentioned objectives the members of the Sangh have decide to do the following work:

(1) All Hindus by going to the scavenger's temple in scavenger lane should collectively say prayer along with scavengers at least once in a month.

(2) Organize the programme of inter-dinning often.

(3) To make efforts to maintain equality in schools, temples and in other public institutions.

Office Bearers of the Sangh
President: shri R. J. Vaidya
Vice President: shri K. S. Dixit
Secretary: shri G. V. Potanis
Secretary: shri B. K. Gaikwad
Treasurer: shri V. P. Sathe

Contents of Dr. Ambedkar's Vatan Bill

Dr. Ambedkar was permitted to present the Vatan Bill in Bombay legislative Council on 19th March, 1928 and its first reading was passed in the council. The second and third reading of the Bill is yet to be passed. The Marathi version of the Bill is printed in Government Gazette of 7th June, 1928. We are reproducing the Bill here for the information of our readers.

Details of the Bombay Act of 1928, No. 12th

The details to reform further the act of 1874 regarding the hereditary position. It is necessary to reform the Bombay Act of hereditary position. Hon. Governor has already proposed the change as per Act 80 C. on the basis of this the below mentioned laws are made for the use hereafter.

1 This law should be referred to hereafter as the Bombay Act of 1928 to reform Bombay Act regarding the hereditary position of the vatan holders.

2 Reform in the Bombay Act of 1874, Act 3rd column 9th – this column deals with remuneration of the Vatan holders. Details regarding their remuneration should be prepared and presented.

3 In Bombay Act of 1874, Act 3rd in this column 9 A should be incorporated. The column A is as follows:

9 A (1) Any vatan of the vatan holder or its any part or his employments or any other earning due to vatan if it is under somebody's possession before passing the Act of 1874 and if

he comes in appeal either to the court or to the collector by proper investigation his lost source of income can be restored to him.

(2) If the lost part of the vatan is vatan holder's land then the collector should order for its restoration to the vatandar.

(4) Reform in the Bombay Act 3rd column 15- If the vatan holder wishes to free himself from his vatan should pay necessary land tax and retain his land and will be allowed to get rid of the vatan work both of the government and of the Rayat. But this right of vatan holder is possible if the government (collector) accepts the vatan holder's claim of freeing himself from the vatan duties.

(5) Freeing vatandar mentioned in 3rd clause the words depending upon government should be deleted.

(6) Bombay Act 1874 in its 3 clause 19 A, 19 B and 19 C should be added. These are:

19 A] Whenever the vatan holder or holders appeal the collector for converting their vatan earning into money currency the collector should listen to act on their request.

19 B] Their income from the Rayats should be collected by the collector while collecting the land revenue from the Rayats. After depositing their share in the government treasury they should be paid directly from the treasury.

19 C] The vatan holders render services to both the Rayats and to the government. They must know from the total income they get for these two types of services how much they get for the services rendered to the Rayats and how much they get for the services that they rendered to the government. Since they put in their labour they must know the division of the income they get for rendering these two types of services. The vatan holders have their right to get this division determined from the collector and his decision in this matter shall be final.

19 C and 19 D clauses state that after knowing the division of work and division of emoluments if any vatan holder or group of vatan holders wants to get relieved of their work of

Rayats he or they should be free to do so. If any vatan holder frees himself from the work of the Rayat and continues to do the government work then the remuneration which is due to the government service that much only should be paid to him.

(7) Reform in the Bombay Act 1874, 3rd clause: In clause 21 it should be "not from more than 10 years instead of from that time.

(8) Reform in the Act of 1874 Bombay clause 3rd: In place of clause 83 there should be the clause mentioned below.

After passing Act 83 in clause 18 there are other resolutions passed which explain the duties to be performed. No other work than the work mentioned here can be assigned without passing the resolution to that effect, this should be only published in the government Gazette one month in advance before it is brought to council for approval.

Explanation of Purpose And Causes

The purpose of This Act Is As Follows:

(1) To increase the emoluments of vatan holder.

(2) To permit to fix the remuneration of the village low level hereditary workers in money not in kind.

(3) Granting permission or passing resolution to change the emolument of village hereditary permanent worker from kind to coin-money.

(4) Allowing village low level hereditary workers to free themselves from village work, if they wish.

(5) Determining the work of the village low level hereditary workers.

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT
(untouchable India)
7th December, 1928

Some Objections Against Mahar Vatan Bill

Last year we wrote four articles on Mahar vatan in Bahishkrit Bharat. In that we have explained how the vatan has degraded the condition of the Mahars. There in those articles we have stated the need for introducing reforms in the existing system of Mahar vatan and also suggested the ways to reform the system. While writing on the reform our fear was that the Mahars will oppose the reforms suggested by us. This fear proved true to some extent because some Mahars wrote a hand written letter against our writing and distributed it among the vatan holding Mahars. In some places by spreading misunderstanding they organized some public meetings also against us. But those Mahars who showed some opposition in the beginning their opposition has completely eroded now. Those who were in opposition to the bill before the bill was introduced in the legislative council are in full support of it now. Now the opposition that is shown to the Bill is from an unexpected direction. When Mahars were in opposition to the Bill the touchable brothers supported the Bill wholeheartedly. They justified our views on Vatan without any reservation. Not only this but they went even to the extent of cont.........emning the Mahars that opposed the Bill, but when the first reading of the Bill is passed in the council the views of the touchables about the reform in the Vatan are changing. After the first reading of the Bill they have started showing their opposition. At present the Bill has been entrusted to the select committee of the council. When the select committee submits the Bill to the council the Bill will go through the second and the third reading and then the decision about the Bill will be taken. If the news about the opposition of the touchables is spread out there may be some misunderstanding among the Mahars hence to avoid creating any kind of misunderstanding we are explaining the issue of opposition here.

The Main Opposition of the Opponents Is To the 6th Clause

It is important to know what the 6th clause is. According to the 6th clause if the Mahar makes an application to the collector that his Baluta share that he gates annually from the Rayat in corn that should be converted into money and collected while collecting the land revenue and deposited in the government treasury and the Balutedar Mahar should receive that money from the government treasury, this should be executed by the collector. This has been stated in the sub-clause of the clause 6th. It is also stated in sub-clause 2 that the collector should help the Mahar in informing him that how much money he gets for the services rendered to the Rayat and how much money he gets for rendering his services to the government. The explanation in sub-clause 3 is this that rendering services to the Rayats depends upon the will of the Mahar. If he gives up doing work of the Rayat he also gives up his claim of his share of income that he gets for rendering services to the Rayat.

These are the contents of the clause six of the Bill which is under consideration now. The main objection to this Bill is from the "Peasants Union Pune Din-Mitra" Ahmednagar, & "Rashtraveer" from Belgaum. In their view if the 6th clause is implemented the farmer will have to bear the additional burden of tax.

We deeply thought over this aspect of criticism. The view that if the 6th clause is accepted there will be additional burden of tax over the farmer is baseless. Their real objection to the clause six is that even if the Mahar gives up rendering services to the Rayats and continues his services to the government the Rayat has to pay the Mahar for the services he renders to the government. In this clause the right of Mahar to get his emolument for the services that he renders to the government has been kept intact. In the opinion of Rashtraveer the Mahars get Some Baluta (emolument) from the Rayats because they render some useful services to the Rayats and they render some services to the government because they enjoy the income of the government land which they possess hereditarily. In their view, therefore, without doing any work of Rayat asking Mahars to collect Baluta from the Rayat amounts to impose additional tax on the Rayat.

The Rashtraveer (news paper) must know that according to the existing system the Rayat pays to the Mahars as Baluta for both for his work that Mahar does and for the work of the government. Here if the Mahar gives up doing the work of the Rayat the Rayat need not pay his share of the Baluta to the Mahar. He has to continue paying the government share of the Baluta to the Mahar which he was doing earlier. There is no question of new burden of tax on the Rayat.

When the Kulkarni Vatan was abolished in 1914 according to the agreement between the government and Kulkarnis the Kulkarnis retained their land without any service to the government thereafter. Not only this but without rendering any service to the government they get the 1/3 of their income as stipend. Those who shout against some concession to the Mahars must think of the concession given to the Kulkarnis for no work of any kind. Mahar will get only the share to be fixed for the work that he does as government duty. The share that he used to get for rendering services to the Rayat will be stopped to be collected permanently. The people who are shouting against the Mahars should think about it. The Mahars and the Government by coming together are trying to exploit the Rayat hence be ware is the warning of the Rashtraveer to the Rayats. We are sorry that the editor of Rashtraveer is spreading among the Rayats such a misconceived idea. The basis of our argument is the Bombay Government's resolution of 1899 No.3074. Here in this resolution it is emphatically stated that the Baluta emoluments that the Mahar gets from the Rayats include the shares of the work done to the Rayats as well as to the Government. This resolution has not been passed by the Mahars. This resolution has been passed by the Bombay Government. The committee that was appointed by the Government of Madhya Pradesh in 1920 to work out the reform in Mahar Vatan system has also accepted the idea of the two shares of the Mahar Baluta to be collected from the Rayats. When the Mahar gives up rendering services to the Rayat naturally his share from the Rayat automatically stands cancelled but the Mahar's share from the Rayat for his rendering Government services stands. Some complains were made against this resolution of the government but the government just ignored that complains. The government resolution that was passed in 1922 in that resolution the government very firmly reiterated its stand on this. As long as this resolution of the government stands our side of argument is quite correct and the argument of the editor of Rashtraveer is wrong. The facts that have been stated in the resolution of the government will have to be accepted by all. The Mahars enjoy the land for government services and get Baluta emolument from the Rayats for the services rendered to the Rayats is the argument of these people. Our answer to this contention is that in some villages the Mahars have no land at all. For example in Barsi Taluca of Solapur District, Javali Taluca of Satara District and in the Districts of Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri the Mahars have no Inam lands but they render their usual services to both the Rayats and the Government. The Mahars get their Baluta income only from the Rayats. In such places the argument advanced by the Paper Rashtraveer remains a futile exercise. In such places whatever Baluta the Mahars get is for both the services. If the people accept this argument then they will not find any fault in Bill No.6. We have never stated in our argument that Baluta is only for government service, we always stated that Baluta is for both the services. Our contention is that some part of the Baluta is for government services. When this is the fact why should Rashtraveer argue against the clause 6 stating that it is an additional burden of tax imposed on the farmer.

The editor of the Rashtrveer asks a question that under what principle the government is imposing tax on the Rayat for the work done under government service by the Mahars? Why not pay the Mahars for their services to the government from land tax that the government collects from the Rayat? If the Rayats are to pay the Mahars for the services rendered by the Mahars to the government then why not collect the share of payment of Patil, Kulkarni etc. from the Rayats? The editor of the Rashtraveer has asked these questions mainly to instigate the Rayats against the Bill No.6 in the Mahar Vatan.

The editor of the Rashtraveer must know that the country where there is no other important producer than the farmer in that country who will bear the burden of the salary of the government servants? It will be better if the editor of the Rashtraveer answers this question. The burden of the government tax must be shared by the rich farmers is our considered view and if anybody says that the farmer should be free from the tax it can only be the view of an idiot. If farmer wants a good system of administration then he must bear the expenditure of the administration and if for the smooth functioning of the village administration there is a need of the Mahar then his expenses must also be borne by the farmer. The payment of Patil and Kulkarni is made from the land tax collected from the Rayats. When this is the situation why should Rashtraveer object only to the payment of Mahar? Before 1839 even the Patil and Kulkarni like Mahars used get their emolument in the form of Baluta from the Rayats. When the government came to know that these two power wielding authorities collect the Baluta in any manner they like forcibly from the Rayats the government abolished the system in 1839 and started paying them from the government treasury. Had the government applied this to Mahars also then only the editor of Rashtraveer would have been kept non-pulsed on this issue now. And there would have been no need of introducing this bill. The government must have thought that Mahar will take whatever the Rayat will give there was no question of Mahar exploiting the Rayat as the Mahar had no power to do that like Kulkarni and patil. Due to this reason the Baluta system of Mahars remained and in case of patil and Kulkarni the system has been abolished by the government.

Hence our suggestion to the editor of Rashtraveer is that whatever criticism he would like to level should be done with full consideration and appropriate responsibility.

Incidental Thought

1 The great patriot shri Lala Lajapat Rai died of heart attack on 17th November 1928. We are very sorry to write on this very unhappy demise of a great patriot. When Simon commission reached Lahore there had gathered the people on railway station to raise the slogan 'go back' against Simon. Lala lajapat Rai was in the front of the protest. To control the mob the police were using the lathis and one police man hit with lathi on the chest of Lalaji. According to the opinion of Doctor Lalaji died due to the blow of lathi on his chest. If this is true then we must protest against this kind of brutal attack of the police on the people.

2 Whatever it is in him we have undoubtedly lost one of the able men of India that adorned public life. India never suffered from the shortage of leaders. But honest, selfless and nationalistic minded people like Lalaji were few and far between. There are many who are prepared to sell their intelligence for the sake of leadership even to the ghost. Simplicity and honesty were Lalaji's qualities. He never did deceiving either in his public life or in his personal life. He was a silent worker and never stopped working until the work target is completed.

3 Lalaji was born in Punjab in a poor Vaisya family in 1865. His father was an Arya Smajist. Therefore, Lalaji had received the lesions of liberalism right from his childhood. Today the Arya Samaj has been swallowed by the conservative ideology of Hinduism. But in those days there was no relation between Arya Samaj and conservatism. Because in those days Arya Samaj was working more seriously against the caste system rather than working against the Muslims. In those days Arya Samaj was against conservative aspect of Hindu religion and Lalaji was with the group of liberalism of the Arya Samaj. In order to support the liberal programme of the Arya Samaj Lalaji founded an educational institution called "Anglo -Vedic college." Today this college is one of the premier educational institutions in Punjab.

4 After this he started taking part in political movement. But like other politicians he did not separate political movement from social movement. He was revolutionary in both the fields. Because of his political movement when the British government sent him to Andamam many conservative minded politicians in India felt happy. Lalaji continued his programme in spite of the opposition of the government and the conservative politicians of India. He used to support the reformers who used to conduct anti- untouchability programme in Punjab and elsewhere. Touchable's organizations working against the practice of untouchability used to receive help from him very sincerely.

5 Lalaji was a great writer. He has written many books on social and political themes. He used to run the English news paper called the "people." In addition to the "Dayanand College", another institution he had started was the "servants of people's society." This institution was founded on the model of "servants of India society", Bombay. However there is difference between the two. The administration of Bombay institution is in the hands of the moderates. They are moderates both in their political programme as well as in their social programme. They think ten times before taking one step to go ahead. As opposed to this the Lahore institution because of courageous leader like Lalaji is forging ahead with courage and fortitude. The Lahore society is doing the work of producing political and social workers fearlessly. Lalaji has worked for this institution tirelessly. In this way Lalaji has rendered yeomen services by working selflessly in the fields of social, educational and political arena of India. Though he is no more with us the services that he rendered to India will remain as a monument of his love for the nation.

6 Some days back there was a quarrel between Hindus and Muslims and in this quarrel Hindus had demanded the help of the untouchables to crush the Muslims. The untouchables had asked the advice of Dr. Ambedkar in this regard and he had asked them to remain neutral. Solapur municipality it seems threatened to stop its grants to the school

boarding of the untouchable boys because of Dr. Ambedkar's evidence before the Simon commission. The municipality also passed resolution criticizing Dr. Ambedkar.

7 Some authorities of the municipality particularly the chairman tried to stop the grants of the depressed classes boarding. He ordered to check the receipts of expenses of last two years but ultimately found that there was nothing wrong in the financial management of the boarding. Even then the chairman brought the proposal in the annual meeting of the Municipality to stop the grants but the proposal was outright rejected in the meeting and the proposal got only one vote.

8 It was the purpose of the president of the Municipality to end the existence of the Boarding by stopping the payment of the grants. Had he proved that the financial account of the boarding is mismanaged he would have succeeded in his plan. But by the misfortune of the president this was not proved. After failing in all his efforts to stop the grants the president introduced the proposal in the meeting of municipality to stop the grants but his proposal was not accepted in the meeting.

9 To enquire into the educational, social and economic condition of the untouchables and such other communities, on the suggestion made by Dr. Solanki, the government had appointed a committee. We have published the report of the said committee elsewhere in this paper. It is not that the government has shown any favour to these communities in appointing this committee. The government would have done this long back. It is well known that to what extent the sources that make man happy are deficient enough in the world of untouchable India. They cannot run in the race of good life for want of education. Therefore they are sandwiched, humiliated and are treated with contempt. If there is any agency responsible to bring these degraded human beings up it is the government. Some private institutions try to do something for these people but the range of the work is so vast that it is beyond the capacity of any such organizations. The power that the government wields is not there with the private organizations. The laws of the government have acceptance and this is not

there with the other organizations.

10 To those Brahminised people to whom untouchables and such other castes in low and degraded condition are advantageous the appointment of this committee has produced a pain in their stomach. They are saying that this committee is a preparatory to the separate electorate as demanded by these people. If the separate electorates are produced the system will remain confined only to the Bombay presidency. Because this committees jurisdiction is only the Bombay presidency. In the opinion of these people if this is the beginning of the demand for separate electorates they must know that we have already discussed and proved in the last issue that the good of the untouchables is in their separation from the caste Hindus. Hindus of course, will not agree with our view. Remaining untouchables with the Hindus is advantageous to the Hindus. Because if they remain with the Hindus they must remain as their slaves. They should not demand the right of their equality. they should not make their efforts to improve their political status. This is the mental state of affairs of the Hindus. Therefore, the Hindus are making all their efforts to check the attempts of the untouchables to raise their level of position to the position of the Hindus.

11 At Nasik recently an organization "Hindu Samaj Samata Sangh" the Hindu social equality sangh, has been founded by some people. Its main object is to remove the inequality between the touchables and the untouchables. In our opinion if the sangh thinks that its activities should be more constructive then it should widen the base of its programme. Instead of taking the Hindus to the scavenger's temples the programme leaders should take the scavengers to Hindus temples and allow them worship the deity. Similarly the inter-dinning programmes should not be merely barren thing of some leaders. If these pregrammes become a family affair it will be more useful for realizing their ideal. They should also add the programme of inter-caste marriages to their programme because inter-caste marriage alone is the test of equality. In other programmes there are many ways of escape. It is easy

for Hindu to purity himself by taking bath after returning from the temple of the scavengers. After inter caste dinning expiation is not difficult. But inter-caste marriage is one thing where such things are not possible. Therefore, no organization, without the programme of inter-caste marriages can attain its objective of establishing equality in society.

12 From this issue we have started reprinting the letters of Gopal Hari Deshmukh called Lok-Hitwadi. Language clarity, fearless thinking and convincing common sense are the characteristics of his writing. Lokhitwadi never followed the path of deceiving the readers by using logical verbatism and play of logic. He has written on the day-to-day activities in society and the people's feelings behind those activities. Instead of dealing with the Ram Raj (Rama's Rule) of the past he has dealt with the demerits of man's dealing in society of his time. In order to gain peoples acceptance one must declare his demerit as merit and foreigners merit as demerit. But Lok-Hitwadi never chose this path. He has very courageously and rationally discussed in his writings without bothering for opinion of the public.

13 Lok-Hitwadi has written on harmful traditions and customs and on religious fanaticisms. His arguments on these issues are worth reading and convincing. His main idea is that everywhere and in all fields he must react rationally. Had the tradition of Lok-Hitwadi continued in Maharashtra the solution on our social problems would have been easier. Unfortunately the tradition of Tilak and Chiplunkar forged ahead with big applauds and the rational tradition of Lok-hitwadi relegated to the background. Its results are seen in today's Maharashtra everywhere. Any way the Lok-Hitwadi wrote his essays some 75 years before and still its relevance is very much living. Thinking that our readers will be benefited by reading his writing we have reproduced them here again.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT
(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
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I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden, now Parth be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 2nd] Friday, Dated 21st Dec. 1928 [issue 3rd

Self Introduction
Protest Against Touchables

At a place Nirmal, dated 8 – 12 – 28 there was a big public meeting of the untouchables at 9 P.M. under the chairmanship of a great leader Dr. Ambedkar M.L.C. The untouchables of various parts of Thane district were present in great number for the meeting. It was an audience of about 5 thousand people. The people from Chambhar community of villages Manipur and Sopare had organized this meeting in a shortest possible time. The reason of the meeting on 7 – 12 – 28 is some people had gone to have Darshan (sight) of the deity. The cause in detail is revealed in resolution passed in the meeting.

Resolution: This year on the wall of the temple of deity Nirmaleshwar it was written that "untouchables should not enter the temple." This meeting condemns the management of the temple because by their writing they have shown contempt and regarded untouchables as impure. It was further resolved that the untouchables hereafter should not tolerate such contemptuous treatment and be ready to resist this kind of humiliation.

President of the meeting Dr. Ambedkar suggested in his speech that next year the untouchables by coming together should try to enter the temple and be ready to face the consequences.

Support To Mahar Vatan From Everywhere

At Dhulia on 28 – 11 – 28 there was held a public meeting under the chairmanship of shri Dharmaji Sambhaji Dusing, a municipal councilor, Dhulia, the below mentioned resolution was passed unanimously.

Resolution No 1 The Mahar Vatan Bill which has been introduced by Dr. Ambedkar in the Bombay legislative council is fully endorsed by this meeting and the meeting congratulates Dr. Ambedkar for having introduced the Bill.

On Sunday dated 25 – 11 – 28 a public meeting was held at Kondavi under the chairmanship of Rama Yesu kodavilkar and full support was accorded to the Bill introduced by Dr. ambedkar.

At Sandvi on 2 – 12 – 28 under the chairmanship of shri Ganapat Joshi the support was given to the Mahar Vatan Bill.

On Monday dated 10 – 12 – 28 at 10 in the night there took place a meeting in the cement chawl No 3 on Sat Rasta clerk Road under the chairmanship of shri Krishnaji Bayaji Jawale. Shri kondadev Shriram Kholwadikar gave a lecture on untouchability and ways to remove it. The meeting was attended by about 500 people of Mahar, Mang, Bhangi castes. After the meeting the tea was served to all people and it was prepared by a man from the Mang community.

In the meeting presided over by Dr. Ambedkar at Devale Dist Nasik a donation of Rs. 144 for press was given and the press management has expressed its thanks to the donors.

On 18 – 12 – 28 at Managaon Tal. Sinner under the chairmanship of shri Bole a huge public meeting took place and it gave its full support to Mahar Vatan Bill and in the meeting a donation of Rs. 138 was given for press.

Shri Arjun Buwa Muktidas Buwa has sent Rs. 5 and some Bajara and rice as help to the Education Prasark Mandal Panvel. Will others also follow his example?

Collection Of Various Subjects

Swami Shraddhanand

Author – P.R. Lele

Swami Shraddhanand passed away two years before
23rd December 1928.

Swami Shraddhanandji's birth that took place in the period of those twelve months in that period world's many great men were also born. American President Wilson, England's philosopher Judge Halden, Indian freedom fighter Lokamanya Tilak and Europe's famous drama writer Bernard Shah are the great men born in that line. Today only Bernard Shah is alive in this line of prominent men. These were born in the same year and also played an important role in the matter of promoting education of the people. The original name of shraddhanandji was Munshiram. His original place is in Jalandar District; his father was in government service and had seen the riots of 1857. Munshiram was born in the month of Phalgun, 1913. He was born in a well to do family. As there was no dearth of anything in the house his health was also good from his childhood. Even as a child he was fearless. Even when his health declined in old age then also he used to reply all his letters that he used to receive every day. As his family was well placed naturally he got education from the good schools. His father was in Banaras doing government service therefore he studied in Banaras College. Shraddhanandji joined the government service here only but he did not remain in service for long. When Munshiram was in police service military soldiers looted the market. Shri Munshiram went there with a contingent of police and stopped the plundering of market. The higher officers became unhappy with Munshiram and Munshiram resigned his post. Then he studied law and passed law examination and started practicing law. He was not interested in the legal practice because the kind of mischief that was used in practice was not acceptable to him. Mean while he was driven towards the newly founded Arya Samaj. Swami Dayanand Sarswati founded Arya Samaj in Bombay. The spread of the activity of Arya Samaj was going on rapidly in Punjab. And Munshiram came under its impact vary greatly. Munshiram had developed contempt for many evil practices that were going on in Hindu Society. His wife died in 1890 and this made him disinterested in the practice of law further. His attention was drawn towards the Hindu Samaj and its reconstruction more seriously. Swami Dayanand had shown many areas of reform. Munshiram was attracted towards two programmes (1) removal of untouchability and (2) national education. From 1890 to 1926 for over thirty six years shri Munshiram tirelessly devoted to the work of removing the untouchability and the spread of national education with never diminishing zeal.

After the death of Dayanand Sarswati Swami within a few years Dayanand Anglow Vedic College was founded at Lahore. In this college it was compulsory to impart education in English language. It was a government recognized college. In the college hostel there was no restriction on eating non-veg food. Munshiram did not like this. He was of the view that purely vegetarian food should be served in the hostel. And the education should be imparted in mother tongue only. Munshiramji was not a Brahmin by birth yet he was purely a vegetarian. Munshiram used to give serious thought to how the education should be freed from the clutches of the government and how the teaching courses should be independently framed. He spent almost ten years in pondering over these two aspects of education in those days. During this period he did not neglect the problem of eradication of untouchability and the progress of the untouchables. In 1898 he gave up his court business once for all. It is at this time a woman donated a piece of land to the Gurukul (Ashram School). Munshiram himself also gave all his property to the Gurukul. He then started a Gurukul with the strength of 8 students in the year 1902. His own two sons were also there among these 8 students. Munshiram was not among those patriots who sent their own children to English schools and advised others to send their children to National Schools.

In 1896 the Sialkot branch of Arya Samaj undertook the work of improving the condition of untouchables who were called as "Madya" in that area. This Sialkot branch of Arya Samaj had received inspiration for this work from Mahatma Munshiram. He was not of the opinion that the Hindus must construct independent temples, Independent wells, and must give independently the separate facility of the schools to the untouchables. He had written in his paper "liberator" in 1926 that by providing separate facilities by the caste Hindus to the untouchables the untouchability can never be abolished. Dalits must be merged completely in Hindu society then only the untouchablity can possibly vanish was his view. This fifth varna is not acceptable to Arya Dharma and hence it should not exist under any condition. The untouchables should at least be merged in shudra class immediately was his pleading. Those untouchables who used to wear yajnapavita (a thread around the neck) must be instantly given to them. He used to join inter-dinning programme with the untouchables. He used to go to their houses to eat food prepared by them. His own cook was an untouchable (Jatav).

It is Munshiram who tried to make efforts to make the problem of untouchability a national programme. But while doing this he had already become sannyasi (an ascetic) and was now called as Shradhanand. In 1919 the Indian National Congress met in Amritsar for its annual session. Swami Shradhanand had to accept the presidentship of the reception committee with much of his unwillingness because he had never participated in politics directly so far. It is from this presidential chair he asked the people that "say loudly that untouchability has vanished from today." Then he said in front of Reform Scheme Committee London Christian Liberation Armys general Booth Takar Saheb had said that six crores of untouchables of India must get their civil rights because they are the sheet-anchors of the British Government in India. He then told the audience that they should think about these words very seriously. In India these six crores of untouchables can become the sheet-anchor of British power in India. Shradhanandji then appealed the audience that they should with oath declare that these six crores of untouchables are not the untouchables but for us from today they are our brothers and sisters. Their children will study in our schools, their men and women will take part in our public meetings and in our freedom struggle they will join us to fight the enemy till to our success. Sisters and brothers please bless that this dream of my will be realized at the earliest.

Nine years have already passed to the Amritsar conference of Indian National congress and even now in the year 1928 a man like Mohanlal Desai says that in Bombay municipal schools the untouchability should be continued perpetually. After Amritsar conference there took place a special session of the congress at Calcutta. Here shri swami Shradhanandji made a special suggestion of making some proposal regarding untouchability. But it was not allowed under some pretext. After this during the Christmas festival of 1920 the annual conference of the congress took place in Nagpur. Here Gandhiji declared that eradication of untouchability is an important condition for getting swarajya for India within one year.

It is true that the National Assembly (congress) hoisted the flag of eradication of untouchability but what exactly it has to do for that has not at all spelt out. In the year 1921 the movement of Non-co-operation began. Quite seriously and the untouchability movement remained side tracked. Swami Shradhanandji was the member of the working committee and as such he kept up his efforts to draw the attention of the leaders towards untouchability problem. How his efforts were becoming fruitless that Shradhanandji himself told in his book "my parting advice." At the end of the year 1921 prince of England came to India. Just before that the swadeshi movement in India was going on seriously. During swadeshi movement swami Shradhananji wrote a letter to Gandhiji that when six crores of so called untouchables regard English administrators as their benefactors how can the Non-co-operate movement be complete? By getting swarajya also if six and half crores of untouchables remain separated from us how can then the people of India be happy was the another question asked in that letter. Mahatma Gandhi went to the jail in March 1922. Swamiji resigned his position in congress organization. He also went to the jail after some days. He resumed this work again in January, 1924. He wrote a book and the whole introduction written to the book is an enlightening one. The below mentioned passage from that introduction is very important.

"Whenever some political leaders make their demand for swarajya their opponents shut their mouth by raising the question of untouchables. It is these people who have enslaved 1/5th of the population of India and ask them not to take side of the British administration."

"In my opinion so long as the injustice continues on the untouchables the fructifying the programme of National Party is difficult to find its goal within reach."

Shradhanandji has sent a letter to Mahatma Gandhi about the Swadeshi programme in which he says:

"There is a big need of the cloth produced in our country. But so long as 6 crores of people in this country suppressed under our feet are taking shelter of the English administration in India how can we succeed."

In the year 1924 Satyagraha at Vaikom began swamiji had gone there in the month of May. From there he went to the various places in Madras presidency and also in Bengal presidency and saw the condition of untouchables there. He found it very difficult to raise money for the programme of untouchable's welfare. His old age was also a problem in visiting the places for collecting money. In his journey he found that it is essential to have a news paper. After returning to Delhi he made the preparation and on 1st, April 1926 there came out the first issue of an English weekly called 'Liberator', on 16th, December 1926 the issue No 37 came out and on 23rd, December 1926 Shradhananji was no more. It is the moral duty and the right of the untouchables of India to pay their homage to him gratefully.

Public Meeting At Kalambi

A public meeting was organized at Kalambi Taluka Tasgaon (now District Sangli) under the chairmanship of shri Khandnak Rajnak Inamdar, a local board member Satara on 11 – 12 – 28 and the below mentioned resolution were passed in the meeting.

The great leader of the untouchables Dr. Ambedkar has explained the good thought that to liberate the untouchables from the slavery of the touchables the untouchables must be treated as separate and independent people from the Hindus. And this view of Dr. Ambedkar is truly useful to liberate the untouchables from the Hindus. When this is so the other day there was a public meeting organized under the auspices of the school teachers of the untouchables at palus under the presidentship of shri Sardar Panditrao and he stated that above mentioned view is harmful and it should be rejected. His views are not acceptable to the untouchables therefore; this meeting condemns his views and rejects his views outright. Then the young speakers like Anandrao Ravaji Kadam, Gundu Tatya Patil, Rangaunda Shanta Patil spoke and started that to gain their rights untouchables should follow only Dr. Ambedkar. There is no other go for them was the view expressed by them.

Suggestion To The Subscriber

Money order or any correspondence should not be addressed to Dr. Ambedkar it should be addressed to the Manager Bahishkrit Bharat. A ticket of one Anna should be sent to have a correspondence continued.

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(untouchable India)

Friday Dated 21st December, 1928

Hindus Dharmashastra Their Areas And Their Officiators

Among all the religions Hinduism which is decrepit and feeble has become powerless beyond any measure due to the attack of other religions on it. As a defeated man self-examines himself saying what happened to him similarly the Hinduism is self-examining itself saying what happened to it. However it has not yet found out the cause of its repeated defeats.

Social scientists are telling us that the marriage system in this country is very much harmful. Because of the prevailing marriage system in this country 8 years old girl is made to marry the old man of 60 years. There is no chance for each other to see each other's appearance, behaviour, liking and disliking etc. And this marriage system is making a very bad effect on family and social system of the Hindus. For a good fruit bearing tree it requires its growth in early stage up to the fruit bearing stage sound nourishment similarly the children's nourishment and cultural bringing up must be powerfully done until they reach child bearing age. In this country where the girl becomes mother at the stage of 10-12 years old what kind of progeny the country will have is a matter of very surprising imagination. The people born in this environment it will not be surprising if they are dwarf, short lived, pale weak and lusterless. Where there is the decline of physical strength it is not surprising if there is a decline of mental energy. That is why it is said that if the body is sound the mind is sound.

The social scientists are telling us that the Hindu caste system has enfeebled the Hindu society. Birth in caste and death in caste; eating in caste, marriage in caste is the social system of the Hindus. Man's caste remains pure if he remains in isolation. The man who will not travel in train, who will not go to foreign country and who remains confined to his house like a thief he is considered pure by caste. And he who does not remain confined to his house like a rat to its hole and takes part in public activity is regarded as a man fallen from his caste. For maintaining relations in public life and for becoming conscious of public relations the caste is a big hindrance in producing cordial public relation and healthy social atmosphere in public life. Caste system prevents producing social responsibility and social unity among the Hindus. One caste regards another caste as alien. One caste while behaving with another caste always keeps its advantage in view and there is no consideration of the advantage of another caste in view. Therefore the distrust between the two castes is the basic character of the caste. They will tolerate alien rule but not the rule of one caste over another. The leadership of a man is not acceptable merely because of his caste. People have different opinion about Swarajya it is only because of caste. Every caste Hindus ....that if Swarajya is gained such and such caste will be empowered and others will suffer. Therefore, it is better that India is under the rule of aliens. Castes produce caste hatred and this has continued ages together. In England there were different races of people. Angla, Pict, Saxon, Celt etc. were the races. There were bloody wars among them. But their successors are staying in the same country today. The feuds of their predecessors are not seen repeated in today's England. But here such quarrels are found repeatedly occurring in India. Yajnavalkya and Vaishyapayana quarreled long back in the past. As a heritage of this tradition Yajurvediya Brahmins and Rigvediya Brahmins have continued that, old age tradition of quarrel even in today's India. During the peshwa rule there was a serious quarrel between the Brahmins and the Kayasthas. This happened some one hundred years back but the tradition is still remembered as a legacy. A crooked Brahman by name Waman usurped the kingdom of a powerful king Bali by deceiving means. This happened long back but the Non-Brahmins have not yet forgotten it. The castes have survived therefore the caste hatred has also remained burning in some form from the time immemorial. Social reform in India has become impossibility due to the perpetuation of caste system. Many from Hindus leave Hinduism and go to other religious but none comes to Hinduism from other religions. Among the Hindus there is no birth without caste. Hindu can go out but he has no way to come in. if the condition of Hinduism should not become like the condition of a water tank with leakage the caste system should be destroyed as early as possible.

The social scientists are informing us that treating women and the shudras as low is harmful to the society and those whose status is harmful and when they start feeling pinch of it they begin revolting against it. This disturbs the peace in society. However it is a good sign that if the sufferers show the courage to revolt against the dominators. But this generally does not happen due to the sufferers slavish mentality. The sufferers think that the condition in which they are placed is not the artificial creation of anybody but it is their fate accomplish. Hence for their low condition they hold none responsible except their fate. Thus the injustice against which man needs revolting there he surrenders and suffers. They admire their enemies as protectors, benefactors, lords of the earth and bow down before them. They form the habit of listening them with submission and humility. In this way high placed people become arrogant issuing only the orders and holding them only within their power and the low placed people form only the habit of obeying and submitting to the upper caste men whether they are right or wrong. Thus it is the fall of both the parties culturally. This is amply proved if we see how untouchables behave with the Non-Brahmins and how do the Non-Brahmins behave with the Brahmins and the mutual behaviour of all the three with each other. Normally upper caste men think that the birth of able men is not possible among the low castes. This is shown by the history of the lower castes is the view of the upper caste men. But they forget the fact that without ambition great efforts are not possible. The men of ability do not take birth among the low caste because no seeds of producing ambitious men are sown among them. As for producing a good crop there should be a good land similarly for producing ambitious men in society there should be a conducive social system. Where social limits of a man are determined for his behavioural purpose there the limit of his growth are narrowly confined to the limits determined. For such a man no ambition to transgress the limit set for his behaviour can be created. The idea that they must acquire greatness cannot come near them. On the contrary they feel that higher ambition is not there area. This is the teaching of the Hindu religion to the untouchable castes. Because of this teaching of Hindu religion even the good qualities of shudras and women have gone waste unutilized for their advancement in Hindu society. The great men are the pillars of society. Without them no society can march towards progress. In whatever class they are born their services must be utilized for the betterment of the society. The Hindu society has fallen prey to the wrong idea that the Jewels are produced only from the Brahmin mines and coals are produced only from the shudra mines. If the Hindu society is to progress it is necessary to give scope to develop the good qualities of the people wherever it is possible.

The social scientists are telling us that among the Hindus the practice of untouchability and impurity in case of some people by the so called upper caste has reached to the shameless level. The people whom the Hindus call as untouchables their touch even is untouchable to the upper caste Hindus. The Hindus who practice this untouchability if the same Hindus when they go to eat the food in the house of English saheb there they eat the food prepared by the untouchable servants with pleasure. The Muslims, Christians etc. are the people who can be regarded as special kinds of untouchables. Because no untouchable does the sinful act of killing the cow. Even then the Christians and Muslims enjoy equality with the Hindus. But the Hindus do not even tolerate the shadow of the untouchables. This is a pure betrayal of humanity on the part of the touchable Hindus. However the untouchables have paid back the Hindus in their own coin for their sinful acts against the untouchables. The causes of how Hindu rule ended and the Muslim rule began and how the Maratha rule ended and English rule began is given by the different historians differently. But the causes given so far are wrong. The aliens established their rule in this country solely with the help of military power. In all these political revolutions the question which is very pertinent is from where did they bring people in the army? The most astounding thing is that the aliens conquered this country only by raising the army from the people of this country. Who joined the army of the aliens to hand over the rule of this country to the aliens? The answer to this question will reveal how the untouchability has ruined this country. Without their help Mughal power would not have survived and the British rule would not have started. It is bad that untouchables betrayed the country but the inhuman treatment of the untouchables by the caste Hindus is the cause of that betrayal. Unless the tradition of the betrayers of humanity is ended there would not be the end of the tradition of the betrayers of the nation.

Some Brahmins coming under the influence of above stated good thought passed some resolution in the conference held at Akola last year. Some two resolutions which are important among them are as follows:

"Among the Hindus no caste is by birth inferior or superior and all have the right to study the Vedas."

In this resolution it is not stated that caste system is not acceptable.

Another important event is that at Kasi there was summoned a big orthodox Brahmin conference last month. In this conference the learned Brahmins from all over the country had gathered. In this conference in all 17 problems were placed before the meeting for consideration. The decisions taken on these problems are printed elsewhere in this paper. Decisions given on the issues they have tried to show that the Hindus behave as per the dictation of the Dharma Shastras (religious books) and it is there that the Hindu society has survived. If Hindu society starts behaving against the Dharma Shastras the Hindu society will also perish as all other societies have perished. This assertion of the orthodox section is quite appealing to the Hindus and their faith in the efficacy of the shastras becomes strengthened further. But this contention of the orthodox section is meaningless can be proved without much efforts. Hindu nation is one among the ancient nations of the world. The Archaic character of India is well- known and there is no need of telling it afresh. Ancient nations like Egypt, Assyria, Rome and Greece which rose with India have disappeared from the scene. However it is definitely not the merit of the Hindu nation that it has survived. There are many ways of living and all the ways of living are not worth living. When one enemy attacks another enemy defeats him and lives the life of honour that is one way of living. When the enemy defeats the nation and compels it to surrender and lead the life of slavery is another way of living. A nation which protects its freedom and lives with honour cannot be compared with a slave nation. Hindu society has survived for long but it has survived as a slave. If anybody is praising this kind of living let him do that. Instead of saying that we lived it is better to say that we lived because our conquerors allowed us to live. India has lived for many years but it has lived the life of slaves. We are ashamed of the Hindus living merely. In ancient days the conquerors used to kill the conquered to exploit their wealth because the conquerors were not wise enough to utilize the services of the conquered but when the conquerors knew that the services of the conquered people can be used in productive activity like agriculture the conquerors enslaved the conquered and harassed them to the tilling of the land. Had the invaders of India been ignorant brutes the Hindus would have perished long back. Now the opportunity which they have got to live a life of slaves that opportunity also they would not have got. We, therefore, lived because not that we lived as per the dictation of the shastras but because we lived at the mercy of the conquerors. If there is any result of our behaviour as per shastras that the shastras made us weak and mean and incapable to resist our invading enemies. The flexibility of social system is the main cause of its survival before the enemical nations or societies. If the Hindus say that their social system is built up on the principles of their Dharma Shastras (religious books) then it is also clear and self-evident that the cause of the decline of the Hindus is their shastras. The preceptors of the Hindus who sit for judgment on their Dharma Shastras are not aware that the world is changing and where it is going. When we think of reforms in other societies we see that the world has advanced much whereas in our case we are only there where we were in the beginning. Nowhere in the world have the marriages taken place unless both man and woman are prepared mentally, physically, economically for bearing children. In our country the religious preceptors are telling us that the marriageable age of the girls should not be more than 8 years. The children born of human beings are only human beings. Even then our religious preachers are telling the people that there should not be inter-dinning and inter-caste marriages among the different caste people. Nowhere has remained either on man or a woman the blot of lowness. Both man and woman are running in the completion of progress with equal zeal in Europe. Napoleon born in a leather worker's family became the emperor of majour part of Europe. When this is so in our country the woman and Shudras are not allowed to pronounce the simple holy syllable Om, is the decision of orthodox section of Brahmins in the conference held at Kasi.

The Brahmins who supported some kind of equality concept criticized the Benares conference. In the conference right to take the decision was given to the president (Acharya) and the authensity of the religious books was accepted. These things were wrong in the views of supporters of equality. But here our question is had it been alright if the Kasi conference would have accepted the view point of the supporters of equality? We support the equality party in this quarrel of orthodox party versus equality party. We congratulate the equality party because in this quarrel they supported the reform party. But in our view their stand is also not fully justifiable. If the path of social reform is to be smooth going then the two things must be clear. The first question is whether social problem is to be understood in the light of the explanation given by the religion or in the light of the explanations given by the social sciences. The second point of explanation is on any socio-religious matter is it a rational point of view that Brahmins should give the judgment and others should accept it? Both these questions in our view are very important. It does not seem that even the equality party has paid its attention towards this problem. Not only this but between orthodox party and equality party there does not seem to be any difference in point of view. Both the parties believe that the social questions should be decided with the help of the religious books. Only difference between the two is that one party believes in the sanctity of all the religious books whereas for another only some are acceptable. Both the parties accept the authority of the Brahmins in deciding the socio-religious questions. In our view both these views are very dangerous. The equality school believes in reforms but their half-conceived rationality will not help relieving the Hindu society from the eclipse from which it is suffering from the time immemorial. Hence the justification of the religious books and the power of religious knowledge must be determined. How to do this will be seen on some other occasion.

An Address To The Governor

An address was given to Sir Lesly Wilson the Governor on 5th December 1928 before he went to England. The details of the address will be published in the next issue.

On the 39th birth anniversary of shrimant Tukojirao Holkar, shrimant Chantravatibai Saheb Holkar gave Rs.50 as donation to Shrinath students Hostel Indore. This is the Hostel run for the depressed class's students.

On the 17th December 1928 the leader of the Non-Brahmins party, Madras shri Rajesaheb of Panagal passed away. His introduction will be given in the next issue.

The Brahman Conference Held At Kasi; The Questions That Come Before The Conference; The Answers Given By The Religious Heads.

All India Brahman conference met at Kasi recently. The questions that were sent and were raised in the conference were answered by the Hindu Pandits (scholars) have been published very recently in Pamphlet form under the signatures of shri Rangachari Reddy, Gopal Shankar Dandgaonkar, Ranganath Shastri Nasikakar, Vishwas Balvant Davare, Vishnu Narayan Maval, Vidyadhar Krishnaji Shaharkar, and Tryambak Narhar Shrigondekar. These signatories were present in the Kasi conference as representatives of the Brahman Sabha called "White yajurvediy Madhydin Brahman sabha Pune. The questions and answers are given below.

Questions

1. According to the rules of the religious books what should be the marriageable age of man and woman?

2. Whether marriage of a woman after her menstruation begins is proper, improper and a calamitous need?

3. According to the existing circumstances what should be the marriageable age to be fixed by law without damaging the marriage rules of the books?

4. During her menstruation period what are the disabilities that the girl suffers from?

5. Do the shastras (religious books) permit the marriage between the sub-castes among the Brahmins?

6. Who are the religious experts and what kind of changes can they introduce?

7. Whether widow remarriage and divorce are within the rules of the shastras and whether the practice is proper or improper?

8. Whether untouchability is birth based caste heredity or is the result of man's action?

9. Whether the practice of untouchability in public meeting, public tank and wells public temple etc. is proper or improper? If it is proper then in what manner it should be observed?

10. Does consecration to Bhagavat Dharma (Devotion cult) elevate man to higher status in this birth only?

11. Whether the people of lower caste have become low by their evil act or by their birth?

12. Is there any condition of caste in case of conversion to Bhagavat Dharma (cult of devotion)?

13 . Whether shulpanis' (a saivite treatise) version that even if a low order of Brahmin priest officiats the ritual there is nothing wrong in it. Is it acceptable?

14. How long the effect of the expiation taken due to the

contact with Mlenchha remains?

15. Whether expiation for a man who remains in contact with the Mlenchha for one year is different from a man who remains in contact for more than one year?

16. For how many generations the Vraty ceremonies stand efficacious?

17. Whether the caste is attached in this life only due to man's acts or man brings it by birth only?

Answers

1-3. About woman's marriage up to her 8th year is the best, up to the beginning of her menstruation is somewhat tolerable but the marriage after that is contemptible.

4. It is wrong to enact law to prevent marriage from 8th year to the woman's consent age.

5. It is wrong to bring about marriages within sub-castes.

6. No religious preceptor is authorized to introduce change in the religious rules and precepts independently.

7. Among the Brahmins, Ksatriyas and Vaisyas widow remarriage and forsaking the marital relations are not allowed.

8. Mlench, chandal etc. the castes which are untouchables have become so only by their Karm (their doings).

9. The untouchability has been explained by the shastras and their version must be accepted.

10. Bhagwat Dharma Diksa (consecration) is not the best Diksa (consecration) in this birth.

11. The castes like "yavanas" are based on birth.

12. Some Mantras are holier they are not meant for the use of all. Rest in the Bhagwatas is for common consumption.

13. According to the shulapani (saivaite) any priest (Brahman) can perform rites on hire.

14. Expiations for violation of sex morality and violation

of caste rules by eating together have been discussed along with the duration for which the impact of expiation continues.

15. The above mentioned explanation of expiation also applies to the person who returns from abroad.

16. The impact of Vratya ritual continues from father to grand-grandson.

17. Chaturya varna is birth based it is not based on man's acts here in this birth.

The list of the donors with names is given here on this page. The first list is of those who gave ten Rs. each; the second list is of those who gave Rs.7 each; third list is of those who gave Rs.5 each; fourth list of those who donated Rs.4 each; fifth list is of those who donated Rs.3 each; sixth list is of those who gave Rs.2 each and the seventh big list is of those who gave Rs.1 each; eighth list is of those who gave 4 Annas each and the ninth and the last list is of those who gave 4 Annas each.

Here after reading the list of the names and their Paltry some donations what one can notice is that poverty had determined to fight poverty under a giant leader of courage and firm conviction.

In all the net amount of donation collected and mentioned here was of Rs.192 and 13 Annas.

Incidental Thought

1 Recently at Pune the Bombay state youth conference was organized. The conference was presided over by youth leader of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Last time Maharashtra state conference was organized at Pune and it was presided over by another youth leader Babu Subhashchandra Bose. That last conference was of a reactionary nature. In that conference the important question, both socially and politically, of eradicating untouchability was side tracked under the pretext that politics and social problems are two different sides. A young leader of dash like Subhashchandra Bose remained non-pulsed before the orthodox and reactionary forces at Pune. We were worrying

whether the same story could be repeated in Bombay conference though the young and a youth of dash like Pandit Nehru was the president of the conference. Though our hopes in case of Bombay conference were not cent percent fulfilled we were not at least totally disappointed. In the discussions of both the chairman of the reception committee and the president of the conference the social problems did appear at least in a small measure. Shri Gadgil, the chairman of the reception committee told in his speech that for this youth organization the dealing with social problem is an accepted programme. Attainment of social equality is its accepted goal. He stated further that if we do not reject the practice of an idea of birth based social inequality then we are fit for our present day political slavery. I very honestly believe that the practice of untouchability has no sanction in the shastras. Jawaharlal also stated in his speech that the inequality which is dancing on the socio-religious and political stage of India must be put to an end. He then explained that in ancient day the rulers used the caste to exploit the masses and the priests used the religion to establish their supremacy in society. They propagated said he that their rights were god ordained and birth based. The people like untouchables are openly telling to the world that they have been suppressed closing all the ways of progress in the name of religion.

2 The president and the president of the reception committee though did not forget the importance of social problems they did not place these problems on par with the political problems. They gave a slogan that "down with imperialism." But they ignored the issue of Brahmanism because of which the imperialism took firm root in India. These leaders of young men have failed to understand the reality that if the roots of Brahmanism are destroyed the imperialistic rule in India will collapse within no time. The weakness of India lies in her social system. Our social moralities and our social practices are against our social unity and are destructive of our strength. It is because of these divisive forces the imperialism has strengthened its position. Hence what we would like to tell these leaders is destroy the dominance of a

small class over the rest of the society in the name of the religion and ancient traditions; destroy the slavery of the untouchables and women which they are suffering for years together. This will end the imperialism which is dancing on your head within no time.

3 The young men who had gathered at Poona for Puna conference on their part there was no sufficient knowledge of social condition of this area. And the leaders who mostly came from high caste men did not have enough knowledge of the composition of people in society. Therefore, by ignoring social problems the importance was given to the political problems only. However, they made passing references to the caste system, eradication of untouchability and the progress of women. Instead of doing all this by passing resolutions infavour of some social reforms they would have served the purpose better had they passed the resolution that the young men and the young workers should activity participate in eradicating the caste system and in antiuntouchability programmes and in the programmes of women liberation. The resolution of complete freedom of India was passed with thunderous applaud. It was also decided unanimously that 10th May, 1857 was the day of Mutiny of 1857 and it should be celebrated as the day of freedom of India. The resolution that the youth of India should use Khadi (home- made cloth) compulsorily was also passed. If we look at the conference from the point of view of eradicating untouchability the conference cannot be said to have gone on successfully. And it was not expected also. The untouchables need, at present, the social reform movement. If there is any change in the social outlook of the touchables that is much essential for solving the problem of the untouchables. Even though the untouchables are carrying on their movement on their own with their own idea of self-help their movement will strengthen further if any change in the outlook of the caste Hindus takes place.

4 India's political freedom for which the caste Hindu leaders are struggling by all means if that Swarajya is not going to equally beneficial along with the caste Hindus to the

untouchable communities then the swarajya will be the perpetuation of the slavery of the untouchables under the tyranny of the caste Hindus. This swarajya will be another form of slavery of the untouchables under the new rule of the touchables is the fear of some leaders of the untouchables. On this fear some of the so called national leaders argue that this fear is baseless. Under the swarajya rule, they say that, untouchability will be the thing of the past and it will vanish in no time from the social scene of India. The leaders of such arguments have been slapped by shri Ramswami Naiker recently in his speech as a president of the recently organized social conference in Madras. Shri Naiker is a freedom fighter, Gandhian in thought and action but at the same time believer in the social transformation as must for India. He said the following from his presidential chair.

5 "There is a class of people in this country which is not permitted to use the public roads; it is not permitted to enter the temples and worship the god; it is not permitted to draw water from the public tanks and public wells. It is better if such a country perishes by earth quake or by rising volcano or by submerging in the sea. If God is merciful he should have destroyed this country long back. How is that a nation of this kind is not ashamed of asking for colonial freedom or for complete freedom. Some politicians say that under swarajya the untouchability will be the thing of the past. My answer to them is that all the rules like the rule of Dharmaraj, Ramraj, Harishchandraraj and gods and goddesses of this country are responsible for the birth and growth of this heinous practice of untouchability. If these kings and their kingdoms are returning back under the swarajya it is just imaginable what will be the condition of untouchables in swarajya."

The above stated views will reveal to the reader that the fear that the untouchables entertain about the self-rule of the touchables is not absolutely baseless. The eminent leader and patriot like Ramswami Naiker expressed the fear of the self-rule of the touchables for untouchables. In fact the untouchables need swarajya(self-rule) and their urge for swarajya is genuine and they long for it. But they want a swarajya where their humanity will not be murdered and their rights are properly safeguarded. The untouchables want this kind of swarajya and we have demanded this kind of swarajya in our demands made before the Simon commission, and we have kept up our efforts in that direction.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT
(Untouchable India)

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I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden, now Parth be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 2nd] Friday, Dated 4th Jan. 1929 [issue 4th

Self-Introduction

At Byculla, Bombay, on 15 – 12 – 1928 there was a public meeting on behalf of young men Association of Mahars under the chairmanship of Bhagwan Buwa Ghumatkar. Shri Abaji Anandrao Kkarat spoke on the evil social practices among the Mahars and the removal of those practices. On this occasion some donations were given. The president of the meeting gave the following donations.

Rs. 5 ¼ - to B. I. T chawl No.3 Reading Room.
Rs. 5 ¼ - to chawl No.2 Reading Room.
Rs. 5 ¼ - to Mahar sevak young men's Association.

On 15 – 12 – 28 at Nasik in the house of Prof. Sabnis there was a programme of eating together on behalf of Nasik District "social Equality union." The members that participated in the eating programme were (1) shri K. S. Dixit (Brahman), Dr. Ambedkar (Mahar), shri Pradhan, M. L. C (Prabhu), Prof. Jog (Brahman), shri Patitpavandas (Mahar), shri Varekar (Brahman), shri Tukaram Kale (Mahar), Prof. Subnis(Brahman), Shri K. M. Gaikwad(Mahar), Shri J. P. Abhyankar (Brahman), Shri Jabalpurwala (Brahman), Shri S.B. Dani (Mahar), shri Daulatrao Patil (Maratha), Shri B. K. gaikwad (Mahar), shri M. D. Wad (Brahman), Prof. Patankar (Brahman), shri Vaidya Vakil (Prabhu) And Shri Potnis Vakil (Prabhu).

On 20 – 12 – 28 a public meeting was organized at Kale, Tal. Karad, District Satara under the chairmanship of Bhau Appa Kamble. The vatan holding Mahars of Karad Taluka attended the meeting in a big number. They wholeheartedly supported the bill in the meeting and congratulated Dr. Ambedkar for introducing the bill in the Bombay Assembly.

On 20 – 12 – 28 a public meeting of untouchables was organized at Karul, Tal. Devagad, District Ratnagiri. Shri Tambe Hawaldar presided over the meeting. Shri Mohite, shri Jadhav and shri Malwankar spoke on the Mahar Vatan Bill introduced in Bombay Assembly, the education of the untouchables, and Bahishkrit Bharat press fund respectively. In the meeting Ratnagiri District School Board authorities were congratulated for permitting the untouchable boys to sit with the touchable boys in the schools.

On 23 – 12 – 28 at Kamatipura 13th lane (Bombay) the public meeting of all the sub-castes of Chambhars was organized in Telgu Hall. Shri Shitaram Namdev Shivtarkar was the chairman. The meeting was attemded by shri Ganapatrao Borgharkar, shri Paradkar Buwa, shri B. B. Mhasilkar, shri G. S. Jadhav, and shri N. M. More. The following resolutions were passed in the meeting.

1. The Bombay Government has appointed a committee to enquire in to the condition of untouchables. To plead the difficulties of the Chambhar communities before the government the committee of following members has been appointed.

(1) S.N. Shivtarkar (2) R. N. Vanamali (3) shri G. V. Borgharkar (4) Shankar Krishnaji Chandorkar (5) Govind Ziperu Jadhav (6) Bhau Pundalik Shinde (7) Raghunath Ramaji Chiplunkar (8) Ramchandra Baluji Chandorkar and (9) Gopal

Kanuji Paradkar. In addition to these members this committee is authorized to add more names.

2. This committee is of the opinion that in the coming summer the second conference of the chambhars and the Dhors be summoned in Bombay and to make preparation for that conference the committee of the following members be appointed.

(1) S. N. Shivtarkar, Chairman
(2) R. N. Vanamali, Secretary
(3) B. P. Shinde, additional secretary

These members are authorized to add members of their choice to the committee.

3. This committee endorses its support to the Depressed Classes educational conference which is going to meet at Malwan under the chairmanship of Dr. Ambedkar and this committee requests the members who wish to attend Malwan conference should register their names with shri R. N. Vanamali. Then the president in his presidential speech criticized those people who spread the ideas of caste divisions. In the end he stated that the lower castes will have their interests safeguarded only when they will stand by Dr. Ambedkar.

Views Of our Readers After Mahad

(Author:- D. V. Pradhan, Dadar, Bombay.)

After the Mahad conference which has become immortal in the history of humanity in Maharashtra, the news paper Bahishkrit Bharat which did yeomen service in awakening the untouchables remained closed for sometime thus causing at least temporarily the some loss to the movement of the untouchables. Though the paper did not come out for some time it does not mean that the other movements of untouchables also remained arrested. On the contrary Mahad and in the area around it the movements of awakening continued in vigorous way which can be regarded as almost incomparable. We may die but will not give up our agitation to gain our rights is their slogan now. The history of agitation of last 9 to 10 months to generate fire of self-respect and self-help is such a glorious one that one can notice it with great surprise that what must have generated this courage and conviction among these untouchables who are the mass of ignorant lot and of rugged poverty. Untouchable has become conscious of his rights and this consciousness has been generated in him by his awakening that has been generated in him.

When Mahad conference was in the process the humanity hating touchables of Mahad brought preventive order from the civil court at Mahad against untouchables going to the Chavadar Tank. It is surprising and shameful on the part of the touchable Hindus who referred to the untouchables in Mahad court as Hindu Brothers and brought stay order from the court against untouchables drawing water from the Chavadar Tank.

Meanwhile sub-judge at Mahad court lifted up the temporary preventive order by stating that earlier as a government servant following the legal provision I had to impose ban on using the water from the tank by the untouchables but now the ban is lifted up from humanitarian point of view. He therefore declared that the untouchables have their right to use the water from the Chavadar Tank. But the Hindus of Mahad did not keep quiet. They went in appeal to District court at Thane. Unfortunately at the time of hearing at Thane Dr. Ambedkar was not able to remain present and as a result the court rescinded the order of the Mahad court until the decision of the session court came out. The court proceedings have begun from the 1st of December. It is likely that by the end of the month of February the judgment may be delivered.

Our experience of Mahad episode has proved to us that if the movement of untouchables is to go ahead on the basis of self-help and self-respect then it is necessary that the movement must be backed by a well established organization of solid foundation. If the movement is not solidly backed by a well established organization the movement will not stand on a solid foundation of strength. It is for this purpose the work of collecting money for "Bahishkrit Bharat Press Fund" is going on for the last one year. It is not possible to collect the huge fund like the public funds of the touchables yet it is not difficult if the untouchable brothers take this issue of raising the press fund seriously to collect the required money for the press. At present whatever money that has been collected with the help of that a press for the Bahishkrit Bharat has been purchased. This is the first experiment of the untouchables in their history to purchase the press to buttress their movement.

A revolutionary event took place in the month of April in Pune. It is well Known that Tilak opposed the programmes of social reform. It is a miraculous thing in Tilak wada (Tilak's House) his son Shridharpant opened the branch of 'social Equality Sangh (union)'and conducted the programme of inter-dinning among the touchables and untouchables together. Unfortunately he committed suicide and in him we lost a great man in the field of social fermentation that is taking place in India. Just before his death he wrote a letter to Dr. Ambedkar that he is going ahead to meet lord Krishna to tell the pathetic story of the untouchables to him.

In the month of May last week a big conference of about 5000 to 6000 untouchables was organized at Dapoli. Dr. Ambedkar presided over the meeting fortunately for the viewers they saw here also in Ratnagiri District a great awakening among the untouchables like the awakening of the untouchables in Kolaba district. It is a great surprising thing how the man (untouchable) who had been suppressed for hundreds of years has become awake so suddenly. The leaders who are leading them are playing a great miracle. They are the matter of great pride for this conference which passed many resolutions. They decided not to eat the carrion; they stopped begging Baluta (remuneration) from the Rayats. They finally decided to do all that which is necessary for preserving self-respect.

It is at this time "The Social Equality Union" started giving Janvi (sacred thread) to the untouchables to establish their claim of equality with the Brahmins. The Brahmins used to wear this sacred thread compulsory as a mark of their re-socio religious superiority. On Gudipadva day (New Year day according to Hindu calendar) the union distributed the Janvi (sacred thread) among 1000 people (untouchables) in Bombay. In Dapoli (Konkan) 3000 Janvi were distributed and the oath was administered on them that they will participate in the work of social service. When these people (untouchables) returned to their villages by wearing Janvi (Holy thread) after seeing them wearing Janvi caste Hindus started behaving with them like mad men. For minor reasons caste Hindus started hurling abuses on them. For pretty reasons their grazing animals were put in village animal jails. The land lord's lands which the untouchables were cultivating as tenants were evacuated from there. The markets were closed for them. Those who know the village and have the experience of living in village they alone know the above mentioned atrocities that the caste Hindus commit against the untouchables. But in spite of all this growing atrocities the untouchables have not at all deviated from the path of self-respect and self-help. Enduring all these suffering the untouchables have continued their life struggle with determination. In a village called Hercule in Kolaba District a fighting took place between the Muslims and untouchables (Mahars) and a lot of damages were caused to the untouchables. The both the parties went to the court at Mahad and the members of both the parties were punished by the court. But the Mahars appealed to the District court at Thane. Dr. Ambedkar pleaded their case there and they were freed by the court. But here an important thing is that a man from Mahar community died in the beating and the Doctor's report also stated the same but judge at Mahad did not take cognizance of the beating and the death of an individual from the Mahar community.

In the month of September there was a big quarrel in Bombay, Dadar between the touchables and the untouchables on account of untouchables worshipping the God Ganapati during Ganapati festival by going near the deity and offering flowers and other worshipping material. Ultimately a compromise was reached that both the touchables and the untouchables should go to a certain stage and worship the deity. It is at the end of this month only Dr. Ambedkar proposed the Vatan Bill of the untouchables in the Bombay Legislative council. The Bill has gone through the first reading and it has also been passed by the Assembly after its first reading. Now the Bill has gone to the select committee. The meetings of the untouchables are organized all over the Bombay presidency to endorse support to the Bill for its passing into law. But it is really very strange that the bill should be opposed by some touchables. It is on account of this bill the untouchables may likely to breath the free air to some extent in social, religious and political fields coming out from their bonded slavery it is not surprising that touchables who are restlessly struggling for their own freedom should oppose the freedom struggle of the untouchables? But their opposition has produced movements everywhere among the untouchables to get the Bill passed. The untouchables are determined to go ahead in their movement to get the Bill passed even if the British government is also opposed this Bill of untouchables freedom.

As this Bill has been introduced in the Legislative council and also the suggestion made by Dr. Solanki a committee to study the overall condition of the untouchables a separate committee has also been appointed.

Similarly in the month of October Dr. Ambedkar gave very powerful evidence before the Simon Commission and the demand made therein are very well known to the Readers of the Bahishkrit Bharat.

This is the record of the untouchable's movement of last one year. The credit of carrying on this movement very courageously and systematically goes to Dr. Ambedkar and his associates. The credit also goes to the untouchables in Maharashtra who placed their unflinching faith in their leader and are even ready to lay their lives for him. The touchable leaders and their followers oppose the movement of untouchables and strengthen the forces of opposition to the movement of the untouchables by using all possible means that are there in their armoury. Anybody will admit that if there is any class in Maharashtra which has newly emerged to fight for freedom it is the class of untouchables in Bombay Presidency. Under the circumstances why should the touchables not participate in their struggle for freedom and be benefited along with them? If the touchables continue their opposition to the interests of the untouchables as they are doing now then the days are not far off for both of them for landing in trouble.

Youth Conference of Poona And Bhalakar

Author : S. A. Upsham

The view that both political reform and social reform must go together simultaneously has been accepted now and the argument whether political reform first or social reform first has gone to the background now. It cannot be said that India has become fit for freedom unless the things are completely nationalized. And if India gets freedom before it becomes a nation whether it will survive as a free nation is doubtful. Today we find Indian leaders utter the words like "full freedom." It is quite appropriate also. But to realize this idea it is necessary that the appropriate efforts must be made towards nationalization in India. In this connection the "youth conference" organized at Pune on 12th and 13th December 1928 has done some good work.

Youth Conference And Social Equality

The guests who had come to attend the conference were accommodated in the same building irrespective of their caste and religion. Among the guests there were Brahmins, untouchables, Non-Brahmins, Muslims, Christians etc. Here they all ate together, stayed together and assembled together with feeling that they are all the youths of India. But this system of togetherness was not liked by Brahmanised editor of news paper called Bhala (spear). He thought that this is against the age old practice of Brahmanism. In his issue dated 10 – 12 – 28 he had requested the organizers for the change in the accommodation system. But the organizers did not pay any attention to his suggestion. He then in the issue dated 17 – 12 – 28 abused the organizers.

Youth Conference And Bhalakar

In the issue of Bhala dated 10-12-28 the editor addresses the youth stating that "the language of the youth must be purely freedom loving one and for that they must not be ready to sacrifice their own religious tradition and caste practices." The Bhalakar has no objection that the young should speak purely the language of freedom. But his objection is that for the sake of freedom they should not forsake the religious traditions and the caste practices. Bhalakar must know that all over the world the discriminating traditions have been attacked, the principles of human equality and justice haven been accepted everywhere in the social and political struggle. How can the youth of India carry on the freedom struggle without touching bad socio-religious practices and social inequality? Bhalakar must know that nobody has told the youths that they should give up their religious and social practices to get their freedom from the foreign rulers. It is our considered opinion that the youths volunteered themselves for inter-caste dinning only because of their co-education in the schools and colleges. At the most it can be said that they actively supported such programmes due to their love for freedom. The youth that organized the inter-caste dinning programmes have never claimed that they are doing something extraordinary. The youths have never entertained the idea that the inter-caste dinning is against religion.

In this manner the youths implemented the programme of social equality in their conference. Against this programme of inter-dinning Bhalakar wrote in his issue dated 17 – 12 – 28 that if this kind of social and religious chaos is created through the inter- caste dinning the result of this kind of behavior of violating all kinds of restrictions will be that the Brahmin youths will become non-vegetarian and Hindu youths due their eating together with the Muslims will also become non-vegetarians. The revolting against some social and religious practices is called as unhealthy practice by the editor of the paper "Bhala." But he must know that the youths are considering that as one of the ways of attaining swarajya.

Bhalakar must know that in the conference the purely the vegetarian food was served to everybody whether he was a Hindu, or a Christian or a Muslims.

The Bhalakar explains further that by such means the swarajya is a distant dream instead by mismanagement in the eating system and the things will go towards social chaos. On this argument of Bhalakar what the youths argue is that we will not stop until we get the swarajya because the swarajya is our birth right. If the joint decorate is not an evil then why should the eating jointly be an evil?

BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

Friday Dated 4th January, 1929

Incidental Thoughts

Youth Conference

1 This year the all India youth conference was presided over by Mr. K. F. Nariman. In his speech he warned the youth that such conferences take place at various places in India. It is no use of this youth conference if it is an effect less conference.

2 Who will say that this warning of Mr. Nariman is baseless? Youth conferences, especially, should not side tract his suggestion. These conferences are not of much use if the things are only debated without any implementation of the things discussed and forgetting the things there only after discussing them in the conference. It is true that the debate is necessary for the growth of ideas but it has its own limitations. If it crosses certain limits then it results in laziness. Giver up laziness has been the message that Subhashchandra Bose gave in the same conference to the youth. But the programme which has placed before the youth is such that it is likely that instead of emergence of the youth it may make them docile and action less. Complete freedom is the ideal placed before the youth in the conference and this ideal, no doubt, is very noble and holy. All are not Jawaharlal Nehru or Subhashchandra Bose. Noble principles are beyond the reach of ordinary men. Without

considering the conditions and the human nature Mahatma Gandhi declared the Non-Cooperation Movement but it landed in failure. (This refers to chaura chauri) failure is not a crime but landing on failure often is a retrogating step. Hence the leaders must place the programme before their workers which they can understand and follow.

3 Today though the disciples of Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhashchandra Bose accept the idea of complete freedom with big applaud it is doubtful how many of them are prepared to endure the ordeal that one has to undergo for that. Their weakness to carry on the struggle for complete freedom will be harmful for the cause.

Congress and All Parties Conference

4 In this year's congress party there was tussle between the group supporting the issue of complete freedom and the issue of colonial freedom. It is known that some people had called the all party meeting on their non acceptance of the proposals made by the Simon Commission. This meeting appointed a committee to prepare the proposals for future constitution under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru. The draft prepared by this committee is known as "Nehru Report." The colonial freedom must be immediately given is the recommendation made by this committee. The most of the parties have supported this demand. But those who got the resolution of complete freedom passed in Madras congress are trying to get the change introduced in Nehru Report from colonial freedom to complete freedom.

5 Some days back a meeting of All India Congress Committee took place. In this meeting there was a majority of those who stood for complete freedom. The other day the conference that met at Calcutta resolved that India should stand for complete freedom and this resolution was sent to the Nehru Committee for ratification of its views. Ultimately as a compromise between both the groups they accepted the resolution of Mahatma Gandhi that if the British Parliament did not accept the colonial freedom before December 1930 then

the movement for non-cooperation, ban on paying taxes etc. should be started. This was just an effort of moderates to pacify the supporters of the views of complete freedom.

6 When we enter into the field of social reform from political field we feel that we have entered from the Sahara desert to the field of greenery. At present the number of leaders has increased in all the parties. Like the wandering ghosts these leaders are wandering here and there and they are in all the parties and are creating confusion worst confounded.

7 But the social reform movements though are slow in their progress are definitely not disappointing. If these two are to be described in appropriate words it can be said that the political movement is dying due to its indigestion whereas social movement is dying due to its starvation. In fact social movement will not die. The efforts were made to kill it and even now the efforts to kill it are going on. This tradition is going on from Tilak-Chiplunkar to the recent Brahmanical conference that met at Kashi (Banares). Everybody knows how Tilak and his followers opposed the social reform. Similarly the Brahmanical conference at Kashi stood against social reform is also known to everybody. But the efforts of social reform have stood against these odds very successfully. The people are now realizing that the political movement without the acceptance of social reform within it is powerless and one sided.

8 As a chairman of Indian Social Reform Conference what Barr. Jayakar said is worth remembering. In his speech Barr. Jayakar narrated the history of social reform and to what stage it has come now has also been told by him. In his speech Barr. Jayakar not only revealed that he is a social reformer but he has also revealed that he himself is the Satya Shodhak (truth finder).* Had it not been so he would not have understood the importance of untouchable's and non-Brahmins movements. He has not only understood the importance of these movements but he has also understood how great these movements are. He knows well that how much eager these movements are in their urge for realizing social equality in society. Though Barr. Jayakar is politically a Tilakite his social views are Satya

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• *Mahatma Phule's movement was known as Satyashodhak Movement.*

Shodhak views is sufficiently proved here in his speech. Barr. Jayakar is a Non-Brahmin and he must have experiences of caste at least on some occasion due to his being a non-Brahmin. His statement that for social reform the laws favourable to social reform are essential, shows how slowly the politicians are changing their views favourable to social reform.

The Death of the King Of Panagal

9 In the death of Madras non- Brahmin leader Ramray Niger alias Rajesaheb of Panagal India lost a capable leader. The liberation work of the non-Brahmins which the non-Brahman Party of Madras did much of its share or credit goes to Rajesaheb. If after Dr. Nair and Sir Tyagraj Chetty had non-Brahmin party not blessed with a leader like Rajesaheb then the precarious condition that happened to the non-Brahmin Party in Bombay presidency after Chh. Shahu the same would have happened to the non-Brahmin party in Madras. Everybody is a leader but there is no real leader. No movement can survive under such condition. But this did not happen to the non-Brahmin party in Madras only because of the role that Rajesaheb played in that party in Madras. The Brahmanism is more powerful in Madras than in Bombay. The leaders of swarajya and complete freedom in Madras do not hesitate to take the help of the government in weakening the position of the non-Brahmin party. It is due to Rajesaheb's leadership the non-Brahmin party moved ahead safely against such odds. Rajesaheb used to take all his workers together with him and the ivory tourism was not his nature. He could do this mass based work because of his qualities of mass appeal.

10 The history of the non-Brahmin party during the tenure of leadership of Rajesaheb has remained unforgettable in the memory of the people. During his period the non-Brahmins occupied high position of power in government services. In this way the Brahman influence in the government was reduced much. The Bill governing

temples was passed during this time only. The social reforms and government laws became supplementary to each others during this time only. The efforts of Rajesaheb are responsible for these unprecedented acts in Madras. He himself was a rich man but he never remained isolated from the masses. He jumped into the public life by seeing the problems of the people. In other words it is the people's problems that drove him to public life. He co-operated with the government whenever it is possible but he also opposed it when he thought it necessary. His work and qualities have remained worth emulating by the people.

Untouchables or Ex-untouchables

11 The Konkan province educational conference of untouchables is going to be organized soon. The pamphlet which we have received about the conference in that instead of using the word untouchable they have used the word ex-untouchable. We do not know exactly the man who used this trick of using the word ex-untouchable instead of using the word touchables. But it is our guess that this idea must have been born in the mind of some touchable Hindu. It is not difficult to know the purpose of this idea. When a slave is told that he is a slave it is likely that he may revolt against his slavery, but if he is told that you were a slave once but not now then his intensity of revolting can be cooled down immensely. It is, therefore, to keep the untouchables in perpetual slavery the caste Hindus must have played this trick. Untouchables should not be misled by this kind of trick of the caste Hindus.

Private Ownership Of The Touchables

12 In Cochin princely state the public place like the caravanserais, public wells, and public tanks should be thrown open to the untouchables was the resolution introduced in the legislative council of the said princely state by one named Mr. Mathew. These public places in that state were not privately owned. These were run by the Cochin state by its own expenses. But the touchables of that state opposed Mr. Mathew's resolution tooth and nail. On this opposition of the touchables

it would not be wrong if the untouchables draw the conclusion that in matters of untouchables rights the touchables regard even the public property as their private property and do not allow the untouchables to use that property. On this if untouchables say that the swarajya (self-rule) for which the Hindus are struggling if they gain it will be their swarajya to be used against the untouchables, as their private property.

Honouring Sir K. V. Reddy

Sir, K. V. Reddy is now going to South Africa as "Agent General of Government of India." On behalf of "Maratha Unity," a send off function was organized. Mr. Reddy was garlanded by "social equality Union," and by "Bahishkrit Workers Union." In his reply Sir K. V. Reddy said that for equality purpose and for the welfare of the untouchables he will work very honestly there in Africa.

Letters of Lok-Hitawadi

No. 73

Wrong Notion in Religious Behaviour

There are certain wrong notions among the people because of their wrong understanding of the things that are written in religious treatises like the puranas. For example it is described that Lanka was full of gold. The meaning of this was that the Lanka was a rich land not that it was of gold. But the people because of their ignorance think that it was of gold. The recent day' poets have also added fuel to this fire of ignorance by describing Lanka as a land of gold. Amrutrao, Moropant etc. described Lanka as a golden land. It is written in puranas that earth wears a mortal body in Kaliyuga (fourth period of Hindu calendar) and it was not so earlier. In early days of Krit age (first period of 4 yugas) it was the land of gold, during Treta yuga (second age) it was the land of silver; in the Dwapur (third age) it was the land of copper this explanation of the puranas is improperly explained by the narrators of the puranas. It only means it was an age of plenty and prosperity. This puranic explanation must be viewed according to the circumstance of that time. In those days the Brahmans used to stay in the forest environment and hence it is stated that they should be provided with shoes. It is also stated that the kings and the people should give them gifts to sustain them. But how were those Brahmanas? They were like Vyas Muni (saints) who wrote 18 puranas. How industrious they were and how many books they wrote? They searched for the Vedas and made the collection of it. They started schools and enhanced the knowledge. In those days the people were not much advanced. They founded many religious schools and made the provision for the sustenance of the Brahmanas. But when the Brahmins knew that the people forgot the real knowledge of religion they came to the villages and settled there. When the people came to know that the Brahmins forgot the real meaning of the puranas and started only by-hearting those in words, and have became animal like they now realized that there is no use of giving any help to the Brahmanas. The Brahmins the ocean of laziness and the protectors of ignorance. If they will give up ignorance they will die of starvation. They do not get anything from the government as help for their subsistence. Hence it is necessary for them to give shelter to some kind of foolishness. But when the people will understand all this reality the Brahmins will lose their position. And the money that goes to the Brahmins for reciting the puranas without understanding the meaning is a seer waste of wealth of the people. Hence the people should think about the purpose of the writers of the shastras and remain away from it. Let there be any foolish act by doing that if they get some money the Brahmins will never hesitate in doing that act. People do not understand anything; they do not know reading and writing. Why should they think about anything? To do away with the ignorance of the masses the Brahmins who are the cause of people's ignorance must perish. The Brahmins do not agree that English people rule Lanka. They narrate the story from the puranas. They are arrogant in their stand on the issues of the puranas. They tell about the comparison between Visvamitra and Jamadagni. The people are frightened of the position of the Brahmanas. People consider the Brahman's blessing as the valuable coin. They purchase their blessing even by paying a very heavy price.

Nothing can be gained without offering food to the Brahmanas. Whether it is the death, or birth or marriage the Brahman is needed as a priest. By feeding the Brahmans the diseased man goes to heaven is the belief of the people. They do not say that his place in heaven depends on his good Karma here on earth. The Brahmins have thus hypnotized the people and tied them with the rope of ignorance. This eclipse will not be over unless the knowledge is spread among the people.

No. 74

Temples and Religious Restrictions

The use of wealth is not properly done among the Hindus. People are foolish enough in their economic knowledge. They do not spend money wisely and calculatedly. They do not plan their expenses wisely while spending in religious celebrations. They spend lakhs of Rs. in building the temples and take great pride that they have done a work of acquiring religious merit. In Pune already there are many temples. Some are in dilapidated condition, some old temples are used as brothels, yet the construction of new temples is going on in a big way. Some people construct the temples in their own houses; some purchase the land and construct the temple. It is difficult to see foolish people like Punits elsewhere. Brahmins and Shastri Pandits never do any effort to remove the ignorance of the people who are mad after constructing the temples. On the contrary they tell the people that the life aim is never fulfilled without constructing the temples. Ahalyabai Holkar during her time built 250 temples on the bank of River Narmada. It is the duty of the rulers to remove people's ignorance. But here it is contrary. They encourage the people to grow their ignorance. Why this happens? The reason is that the Brahmins depend upon the temple for earning their livelihood. Thus by spreading ignorance among the masses they easily earn money for leading the life quite comfortably. In this way the Brahmins deceive the people. The naïve masses believe in whatever the Brahmins tell them about the religions. Love, piety and mental peace are never made the subject of religion. In the name of religion the Brahmin priests thus, are spreading the message of ignorance and laziness among the masses. There are innumerable rituals prescribed in the Puranas to be performed on variety of occasions by the layman. These rituals go on throughout the year and the Brahmins continue to get their income as their fee for performing the ritual acts for his yajamana (client). Yajamana is unable to spend money on any good work as he spends on religious matters constantly. If the yajamana is innocent and foolish enough he is finished. He is squeezed and reduced to utter poverty. Among the family members of the yajama particularly women are more innocent and ignorant and are more irrational religiously. Hence the women are the subject of exploitation of the Brahmin priests. If a woman is widow they tell her that she should perform religious rites. At least she will get a good husband in next birth. Brahmins are the mouth of the gods. They should be satisfied by giving Daxina (fees) and feed with good food. Because of their foolishness women take all this as true and obey the Brahmin priest. People die of starvation but Brahmans lead a lezzy and easy life on the exploitation of the people. This way the promoters of laziness and ignorance eat the money of the people and lead a happy life exploiting the masses in the name of religion.

Collection of Various Subjects

Public Meeting of Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha Indore

Three Month Report

(From shri J. V. Gupte, B.A. secretary Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha Indore)

To celebrate 21st birth day anniversary of his highness Madhavrao Holkar the untouchable brothers had organized a public meeting at Indore. In the meeting it was decided that the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha should be established at Indore for the sake of overall progress of the untouchables. To prepare the rules and regulations of the Sabha shri Chitre as president and shri M. K. Karnik, shri J. B. Gupte, shri Govindrao Kharat, shri Bajarangdas Buwa, shri Ganapatrao Wankhade, Borkar, Naik etc. were appointed as members. These people have opened an office and 2 Annas have been fixed as the membership fee. About 100 people have become the members of the Sabha so far. In the office of the Sabha a library has been opened and there on occasions public meetings, discussions, and other programmes of public use take place.

Shri S. K. Karnik, the secretary of sanitation department got the untouchable locality cleared during the Diwali festival on behalf of his department.

Some games both for boys and girls were organized during the Diwali festival. On Laxmi Puja day of Diwali festival a public meeting for women was organized under the chairmanship of Mrs. Ambubai Pandit (Head Mistress), Mrs. Radhabai Inamdar made an effective speech while addressing the women. They assured all kinds of help for the progress of women of low classes.

The efforts are being made to create awakening among the people. Some 20/25 boys and girls are entrusted to Jagtap Master (teacher) who teaches them primary education and gives them training in physical exercises.

There are divisions and feuds among the Mahars of this area and it is detrimental to their progress. As a part of efforts to bring about unity among the Mahars of this area on 25th November a big public meeting was organized here. There was much discussion on the importance and need of unity and in the end on behalf of all it was declared that they are all united new.

For the Panchayat Samiti of Chambhars here shri Gupte and other people will remain present and here also the work of unity will be taken up.

At Mau the work of Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha is going on vigorously under the chairmanship of shri Karnik. This work will be begun at Devas from next month. This work is as holy as equally responsibility holding and hence to carry the work to its successful end it needs necessary funds. For raising funds the "Kamlakar Drama Company," of this place staged its Drama called "Murder of Kaunsa" (a villain in Mahabharata) on 11 December. By deducting the expenditure the Sabha got the net income of Rs. 100/- for its use. The Maharaja of Devas senior gave the donation of Rs.10 for the Sabha.

The present ministry of Indore princely state is progressive in its outlook. The state is equally careful about the progress of the people of the state. Shrinath boarding house which is opened for the boys and the girls of the depressed classes a donation of Rs.2000/- has been given by his highness Shrimant Tukoji Maharaj Holkar. This boarding has also been patronized by the high officers of the state. There are 20-25 boys and girls in this boarding and they stay here free of charge. The Prime Minister of the state has assured that he will soon visit the boarding. This way the situation here is very much hopeful. With the help of the people and the government we are hopeful that we will successfully carry on the work which we have hopefully undertaken.

Bahishkrit Bharat Service Union, Wardha

On 15 – 8 – 27 the untouchables of Wardha city organized themselves in a meeting and by the consent of all they established an organization called "Bahishkrit India Service League."

Objective: Its main purpose is to establish by peaceful means the social equality in society. This objective can be attained by adopting the following ways.

For promoting educational progress of the untouchables the organization should open schools, libraries, and hostels and establish associations to promote the art of debating skill.

In order to improve the health and sanitation of the untouchables the centers of exercises should be started. Health centers providing free medical facilities should also be worked out.

In order to improve the economic condition of the untouchables the co-operative banks should be established and make them self-supporting by encouraging them to start their own earning occupations.

In order to abolish the caste distinctions and the distinction between the touchables and untouchables the efforts will be made to bring about inter-caste dinning, inter-caste marriages etc. and to make entry of the untouchables into the public temples through peaceful means.

To make efforts to pursue the people that should give up following wrong religious traditions and practices and follow the noble principles and practices of religion.

Producing awakening by organizing public meetings at various places.

Leagues First Annual Report

(From 15 – 8 – 27 to 20 – 11 – 28)

To help bringing about the economic progress of the untouchables two co-operative banks were established one at Wardha on 25 – 11 – 27 and another at Hinganght on 1 – 9 – 28.

In order to create an awakening among the women of untouchable community a conference of untouchable women was organized on 19 – 11 – 28 under the chairmanship of Laxmibai Nayadu at Wardha.

In order to produce love of brotherhood among the Hindus by destroying caste notions on 15 – 8 – 28 a Tilgul programme (a Hindu festival during which the sweet balls mixed with sesames seeds are distributed) was organized under the chairmanship of shri Vyankatrao Gade, a non-Brahmin leader in the Town Hall at Wardha. Similarly at Akola by the inspiration of shri Gavai M.L.C a programme of inter-caste dinning was arranged.

In this process of work a school was also opened for the children of railway workers and a library was also opened to promote reading habit.

The Konkan Educational Conference of Untouchables At Malvan

A conference of all the untouchables of Konkan area is organized during the summer vocation under the famous leader Dr. Ambedkar. All the untouchables of Konkan are requested hereby to attend the conference and make it a success.

Court Litigation of Chavadar Tank At Mahad And The Important Issues Before the Court

The work of framing the issues in this litigation was done on 1 – 12 – 28 in front of the sub-judge shri Gupte in Mahad court. The pleader of the complainants, who were conservative caste Hindus and were nine in number, was advocate Virkar and Dr. Ambedkar, the famous leader of the untouchables, was the leader of the dependent untouchables.

The court has framed the following issues:-

1 Has this court the power of hearing this case?

2 Does the tank belong to the plaintiffs?

3 Is there any practice of plaintiffs taking water from the tank by excluding the defendants?

4 Is this practice a legalized practice? After framing these issues the date 22nd December, 1928 was fixed for examining the witnesses.

Barrister Jayakar's Presidential Speech

Barr. Jayakar, the president of the National Social Conference delivered the following presidential speech:

History of Reforms: It was very difficult for anyone to involve himself in the work of social reform. The people participating in social reform movement were subjected to atrocities and humiliations from the conservative section of the society. There was a time when the pandal of the Indian National Congress was not permitted to be used by the social conference. But that time has gone now. The controversy whether social reform first or political reform first is relegated to the background. It is now accepted by all that both reforms are equally important and must go together without any quarrel between the two.

Past and Now

The efforts of the early reformers were not for the basic reforms. They did not look beyond the issues of widow-re-marriage, against dowry system, education etc. But at present the social reform movement that is going on covers a very vast area. Bringing about a drastic change in the field of social relations is the aim of the movement. After viewing the Non-Brahmin movement and the movement of the untouchables one can realize it. It can be easily realized that these classes are struggling for social equality. These movements, it can be easily understood, are struggling against all those social practices which are coming in the way of social equality.

Political Rights and Social Equality

And it is because of political progress the social reform movement has reached to this stage today. Because of the beginning of the representative institutions in India the status of the individuals have improved and it is because of this change the demand for social equality started making its headway. Individuals began feeling caste restrictions unbearable. Whatever may be the causes and consequences of castes in olden days but today the caste distinctions have become the stumbling block in our way of political progress. Nobody gives any importance to the view that the castes should behave amicably among themselves instead it is strongly felt that the caste system must be totally abolished from its roots, and equality among individuals must be established. For establishing social equality shudras and Ati-shudras must be prepared to launch satya-graha movement. The movement of Shuddi is making an appropriate effect on the movement of social equality. Though this movement is started by orthodox people its impact on social equality movement is good.

Government and Social Reform

When such a change has taken place in the outlook of the people the outlook of the government has remained the same old outlook. The government's old outlook is that if the laws are made to reform the society the people will become hostile to such laws. Hence it maintains its neutrality in matters of social reforms. This stand of the government over social reforms is merely the lame excuse. Because it has enacted many laws to which the people are hostile. When the government is in trouble it does not bother for the people's opinion. But when the problems of social reforms are introduced in the legislative councils the government remains neutral there over the reform issues. Our experience is that even on the non-controversial issues of social reform the government tries to remain neutral in the councils. In other countries the social reforms are brought about by the government laws. But in this country the government is always worried by the idea that it is a foreign government. It is this outlook of the government which is widening the gulf between the government and the people. This outlook of the government is dangerous to itself.

Agitation Among The Women

In ancient days the women enjoyed their position. They were free to enjoy their freedom. There was no practice of child marriage. If any woman wished to remain unmarried she was free to remain so. They enjoyed many economic rights. There was no obstacle on their path in earning money. The women had the hereditary right over the wealth of their parents. But after some days this social environment changed and woman became the slave of man. Their religious rights disappeared. Their right over the property of their parents disappeared. The system of child marriage degraded their position beyond any measure.

At present the women are agitating against all these evil social practices that have enslaved them. Widow must have a share in the property of her diseased husband, the woman must have her share in the property of her parents, her age must be at least 16 at the time of her marriage and the divorce must be legalized are the main issues of their agitation. They also argue that why not woman have their say in selecting the bride groom? In their view the present day system of selecting the pair is wrong. Some caste groups are very small. The best example is the C. K. P group of people in Bombay. Their population is around 4 to 5 thousand people. The selection of bride and bride groom must be made from among these people only if caste practices are to be followed. The marriages within the near relatives often are genetically wrong. This is affecting the CKP group of people in Bombay. It is therefore necessary that the permission must be granted to select the bride or bride groom from outside the caste. Recently a judge from Bombay court namely justice Shah has given a judgment that a marriage between high caste man and a low caste women as legal. What women are demanding is that they must have the right in participating the selection of their life partner.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT
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I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden, now Parth be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 2nd] Friday, Dated 18th Jan. 1929 [issue 5th

The Planning of Nehru Committee And The Future of India

In the month of May 1928 on behalf of all the parties that took interest in Indian polotics a committee was formed under the chairmanship of Pandit Motilal Nehru to frame the constitution for India of self-rule. Much time has passed to the publication of the report of the committee. After the publication of the report it was subjected to much criticism from many quarters of the country. The suggestion made in the report for India's freedom was particularly criticized much. The report was discussed in detail in Calcutta congress of last December and it was accepted with many modifications in it. We on our part did not say anything on the Nehru report so far. It seems that the readers of Bahishkrit Bharat came to know about the discussion that took place on Nehru Report at many places. Therefore, they have taken trouble to write us asking for our opinion on the Nehru Report. We feel this as our duty to satisfy the quarry made by our readers. It is because of this quarry we have planned to discuss the Nehru Report in its threadbare.

For smooth functioning of the government of any country it requires some constitution good or bad and hence there is a constitution for each country on which its governance goes on. Hence in our country also there is a constitution in accordance with which the government of India functions. The swarajya for which the Indian politicians are demanding the constitution there is already a constitution which more or less suits their purpose and it is working from the year 1921. If there is any problem that has remained before the Indian politicians is that how to broaden that existing constitution to suit the representative ideas of their purpose. Fortunately the existing constitution is so much elastic that one can introduce any change or make required change in it very easily. Hence it was not necessary for Nehru Committee to take the responsibility of producing the new constitution setting aside the existing constitution completely out from their preview. Nehru committee readied itself to produce the new constitution when a systematically functioning constitution was available. There seems to be two causes why the Nehru committee embarked on the plan of producing the new constitution. One cause seems to be their eagerness to produce something new. It is not that only Viswamitra had the desire to produce the other world. The hobby of becoming a creator seems to be there right from Viswamitra to even a common man. To become immortal by producing new is a desire seems to be there in energy man. While producing new swarajya constitution the Nehru Committee seems to have fallen prey to this kind of idea. The second cause of producing this report seems to be the bluishness of inaction. It is not worth appreciating that the Indian leaders even after doing politics for more than forty years should look the faces of English people in matters of constitution making and accept whatever constitution they suggest for India. If this continues then it may be blamed that the men in the congress party are of cool minded, and are not thoughtful and learned. It may be the efforts of Nehru committee to show that like English people we are also capable to understand the problems of constitution making. Any way we are not much concerned with this problem. Our work here is only to examine the merits and demerits of the Report that the Nehru Committee has prepared.

In any constitution of self-rule if that constitution is of representative form then in that system the system of electorate occupies an important position. Where the constitution of electorate is against the system of responsible government there the system of self-rule is a mere farce. Therefore, we will consider first of all what the Nehru Committee has said about the constitution of electorate and to what extent it is useful to the system of responsible government.

Three types of electorates are normally found existing in the present system of producing the government. Some electorates are indicative of merely the place. Some are indicative of place and caste and some are indicative of classes. Place and caste based electorates are produced for backward classes among the Hindus. Though these are the electorates of mixed voters these are specially produced to get the backward classes candidates elected. Hence such electorates are earmarked as reserved electorates. Separate caste-wise electorates are reserved for the Muslims. The electorates indicating classes are produced for merchants, industrialists and land lords. The electorates those are existing now about them there are two parties that express their views differently. One party thinks that except the electorates based on geographical areas all other electorates are antithetical to the representative form of government. The opinion of another party is that the country in which there is a tremendous impact of caste, religion etc. and there no value in individuals mind about morality and humanity outside caste there the caste based electorates are the only way to represent the opinion of all shades of people. We regard both these views as extreme views. The opinion that while forming the electorates in India only the geographical factor should be considered as important is equally worthless and similarly the view that caste or religion or both should be the main consideration in forming the electorates is also equally worth rejecting. Without geographical factor in forming the electorate no responsible system of government can come into existence and without considering the caste factor in the matter the people who are suppressed under the caste tyranny cannot raise their heads. Those who think objectively will accept this point of view without any reservation. When we think about it objectively we find that if there are any electorates among the existing ones those are separate electorates granted to the Muslims. Today there is much irresponsible and confused factor in Indian politics and it is mainly due to the separate electorates granted to the Muslims. This, more or less applies to the class based electorates also. This way the person elected from an electorate of particular caste or section interest is also free to participate the discussion on important broader national issues that are often discussed in the legislatures. This kind of electorate like the one granted to the Muslims as separate electorate needs to be abolished. The electorates granted to Non-Brahmins do not come under this category. Because no one can say that the person elected from these electorates are irresponsible. In politics it is the responsibility rather than quality that is more important. Viewing from this point of view it cannot be said that the electorates based on place and caste can harm much. In the report of Nehru Committee the electorates based on backward caste and trade and land interests have been removed. They have recommended the place based electorates everywhere. In case of Muslmans by removing their caste-communal electorates those have been replaced by caste-place based electorates. This is a big mystery of the report and this has been publicized much. If the Nehru Committee believed that all other electorates except geographical are harmful to the nation then how is that it accepted the place based communal representation for the Muslims? If the electorates based on caste and place test are advantageous to Muslims how is it that the same are disadvantageous to the country? The committee applies one test to one community and another test to another community is the inconsistency that one can notice in the report of Nehru Committee. The concessions which the Muslims are given, the same concessions are given to the backward classes of the country for some more time until they come up to the level of others what harm was there for the nation's interest? The population of untouchables is in an absolute minority, there are no other people as poor as untouchables are, and there are no other people as suppressed as are untouchables under the socio-religious tyranny of the caste Hindus. There are no other people unprotected and helpless as are untouchables. Their stigma of untouchability has kept them out of all rights including the political rights. No society has ever taken care of their progress. Hindu society frees itself from the responsibility of helping them by making religion as a cause of their slavery. In fact the untouchables need more sympathy and help than the Muslims who are better placed and well organized. It is something like the kick for the sinking and help for the swimming. Untouchables need no help. Their problems will be solved by the spread of education as their problem is the social problem. This is the verdict of the Nehru Committee Report on the problems of the untouchables.

If the problem of untouchables is a social problem what about the problem of the Muslims? Is it not a social problem? Upper caste men look to the untouchables always from their wrong angle. If the problem of untouchables can be solved by the spread of education among them then why not apply the same to the Muslims? The Nehru Committee has given justification by taking support from the Ceylon Commission. The Ceylon Commission has not given any concession to the untouchables there because it has not given any concession to anybody. We are not foolish enough to think that if we get the separate electorates granted we will attain salvation. Even if the separate electorates are granted for untouchables they are bound to remain a minority in the legislature. Their presence there is bound to be ineffective before the majority of the caste Hindus in the legislature. Knowing well that staging rebellion against the majority by the minority is the only way out before the minority and hence we are not much interested in the reservation of the electorates. Our only contention is that the scheme prepared by the Nehru Committee regarding the planning of electorates is not fair and just. It is an effort of the caste Hindus to acquire power without disturbing the power of Brahmanical caste hierarchy. This is our clear and considered opinion about the verdict of the Nehru Report. Otherwise what harm was there if this committee had granted the same political concessions to the backward classes or the untouchables of the Hindu society which they have granted to the Muslims. The reason why they have done this is obvious. By giving concession to Muslims if India goes to dogs let it go but due to that the Brahmanism will remain safe and undisturbed. If these concessions are granted to Non-Brahmins nothing will happen to the interest of the nation but it will be the end of Brahmanism. The supremacy of Brahmins (Brahmanism) has continued till this day the reason is that the political power which was with the Non-Brahmins slipped into the hands of the Brahmins who were wielding religious power from the very beginning. Since they wielded both the powers political and religious together in their hands they have successfully maintained their supremacy in Hindu society. Now they are separated from political power and hence it is likely that their social and religious supremacy may suffer. Whenever there was no political support there the Brahmins have been the drawers of water and doers of cooking work and where they are supported by the political power there they are the de facto rulers. The rule of Peshwas is the living example of this reality. The day on which the political power will slip into the hands of the Non-Brahmins from that day the disastrous situation will begin in the life of Brahmanism in this country. If some seats are given to the backward classes and to the untouchables to that extent seat of the upper castes will be reduced. If the some seats are lost to the backward classes that will to that extent reduce the monopoly of the Brahmins and Banias (merchants). The Nehru Committee is dominated by the majority of Brahmin and such other members. By taking advantage of this majority they have made sufficient efforts to safeguard their Brahmanical interest in a fullest possible majour. Not recommending reservation to backward classes and the untouchables is a part of safeguarding their selfish interest, therefore, we categorically assert that recommendations which the Nehru Committee has made regarding electorates is based on the selfish interests of the Brahmanised group.

Had Nehru Committee by rejecting the claim of backward classes and untouchables safeguarded the interest of the Hindus we would have understood their point. The committee has failed to do that also. The rights which the Muslims have got today are the result of Lucknow pact signed between the leaders of the Hindus and the Muslims in 1917. Before Lucknow pact the Hindu congress and Muslims league were so much enemical that they even refused to see each other's face, as if the shadow of one should not fall on another. They never met for their annual conference in the same place before. But when the secretary of state made his famous declaration on 20th August, 1917 both changed their stand and began drawing near to each other. In the Luknow pact the Hindus showered many concessions on the Muslims. Instead of reserved seats Muslims demanded for separate electorates and the demand was consented by the leaders of the congress. The concession of separate electorate is only for minority communities. The provinces also in which the Muslims are in minority they should have got this concession. But the Muslims unequivocally demanded that they must get separate electorates in those provinces in which they are in majority and the congress consented to this. The Muslims did not satisfy themselves only on this they wanted some proportional number of seats in the legislature. The congress was ready to give them seats proportion to their population. But the Muslims were not ready for this. If they get the seats proportion to their population their number in the legislature will be very small. Therefore, the Muslims did not consent to the idea of population proportion. They insisted that they must get the strength in proportion which will suit their past political glory. Congress accepted this demand also. When the new reforms were implemented in the year 1921 this demand of the Muslims was incorporated into that. Since both the parties agreed on this English government refused to interfere in it and the agreement as it was accepted by them was accepted with slight change in it. The number granted to the Muslims in the Lucknow pact and the ultimate acceptance of the government with some change has been given below in the tabular form.

Province	Percentage of Muslim population in total population	Percentage of elected Muslim representatives in total elected members,as decided by the British Government	The percentage of elected Muslim representatives in Lucknow pact
Madras	6.7	13.2	15
Bombay	19.7	31.3	33
Bengal	53.9	34.2	40
United province	14.3	29	30
Panjab	55.3	45.7	50
Bihar Orissa	10.19	23.6	25
Cetral province	4	12.7	15
Assam	28.9	30.7	-

The Nehru Committee has introduced two important changes in the Lucknow pact. The first important change is instead of separate electorates they have suggested the joint electorates and reserve seats. The second change is the strength of representatives in proportion to the population. Both these suggestions are very important. Had the Nehru Committee stopped here only it would have been a wonderful thing? But along with it the harmful thing the committee has done is that it has suggested the formation of new provinces in India. According to their new provincial system Sindh should be separated from the Bombay province. The north western Frontier Province and Baluchistan should be made autonomous and then the administrative system prevailed in other provinces should also be made applied to them. In this the Nehru Committee has merely pretended that it has simply suggested the reorganization of India into linguistic provinces. We sincerely feel that the formation of linguistic provinces will harm the interest of the country basically. If there is anything wanting in this country it is the feeling of nationalism. One of the main reasons why the sense of nationalism has not grown in this country is the existence of many languages. Unless this cause is removed it will not be possible to promote the sense of nationalism among the people in India. Formation of linguistic states would mean hitting the roots of oneness (nationalism) in the country. With the growth of regional languages the tree of Indian Nationalism may dry out. Instead of forming linguistic provinces the efforts should be made to produce a scheme by which India may become a nation of one language. Now our question is why the Nehru Committee has suggested the linguistic provinces for India. Whether it is merely the linguistic consideration or something else? Our opinion is that there are some other causes in the suggestion of linguistic provinces by the Nehru Committee than merely the cause of language. After reading the Report the conclusion we have drawn is that in the suggestion of linguistic provinces there are no language causes. If the committee was favourable to language provinces it would have suggested the formation of 179 provinces because groups of people speaking languages of 179 are there in the country. On the contrary the committee has rejected the demand of some people for creating language provinces. If the language provinces were to produce then the north western frontier provinces, Panjab and the united provinces are the provinces of one language. The committee would have considered this language factor. But they have not done that. The committee has kept the real secret concealed and projected the language as the basis. The plan embodied in the report is not of Nehru Committee. It originally belongs to the Muslims. On 20th March 1927 the demands which the Muslims made in Delhi and the recommendations made by the Nehru Committee if compared one will find that there is no difference between two. These Muslim demands made in Delhi have been simply incorporated into the Nehru Report by the committee. The Muslims in their demands had demanded that if the Sindh is made a separate province and frontier province and Baluchistan are made autonomous provinces then we will give up our demand for separate electorates and agree on suggestion of reserve seats in general constituencies. We were unable to understand how the losses made by reserve constituencies were to be compensated by creating separate provinces of Sindh, Frontier province and Baluchistan. But the evidences which the Muslims gave in Panjab before the Simon Commission in that they have made it clear. Their explanation is that in the provincial reorganization only in the Panjab and Bengal Muslims population is more in number than the Hindus. The result of this reorganization would be that in one section of the provinces Hindus will hold the beard of the Muslims in their hands and in another section of the provinces Muslims will hold the pigtail of the Hindus in their hands. This means if the Hindus harass the Muslims in one section of the provinces the Muslims will also pay them in the same coin in another section of the provinces. On these suggestions of the Nehru Committee our question is whether it is advisable to give separate electorates for the Muslims or create Muslim dominated provinces and make there the Hindus subservient to the Muslims?

Dangerous To The Hindus

What is the use of the project in which the Hindus are placed in a dangerous position? In our view it is better to allow the Muslims to retain their separate electorates rather than applying them the concessions granted to them by the Nehru Report. The Nehru Committee has been so much careless while giving all the rights to the Muslim as demanded by them whereas it has not at all touched even a single interest of the backward classes of the Hindus. In the provinces where the Muslims are in minority there the seats are reserved in the legislative council for them. In Panjab and Bengal the Hindus are in minority but the Nehru Committee has not reserved any seats for them. The committee should have thought of how both Hindus and Muslims will live together happily instead of confronting each other often. Had the purpose of linguistic provinces been the progress of culture, economic progress, the growth of national health and happiness etc. we would have accepted its proposal willingly. But this is not the purpose behind the formation of linguistic provinces and this has been made clear by the Muslims. As our interests are in the hands of the Hindus in some provinces we want that their interests also are in our hands in some provinces. This is the purpose of the Muslims and this has been made quite clear by them. Among the Hindus there is a marriage system called "give and take" while forming matrimonial relations between the two families marrying the girl from A family to the boy of B family and the girl from B family to the boy of A family. The idea is if girl from one family faces the problem the girl from another family will also face the problem. This way the situation can help both the families in maintaining peace and good relations. This is the idea of Muslims in suggesting for the linguistic provinces as discussed above. In connection with the linguistic provinces another important question is the relation between provincial governments and the central government. This is the most important question. There is a distribution of power between the centre and the state. Without this both governments cannot run smoothly. While making the power division one question whether the central government has any power to supervise the state government occurs. Another question is after making the division of power what should be the position of residuary power. Till today the Muslims position was that power which has been given to the states by dividing the power that the central government must have power to supervise. But the some Muslims are now making altogether the different demand. They are now saying that the powers that have been allotted to the provinces the central government should not have any power over that. The states must be free to use the powers that have been given to them is their argument now. This demand of the Muslims has been accepted by the Nehru Committee. Thus the Muslims idea is to retain the edge over the Hindus at least in Muslim dominated provinces. The Nehru Committee by accepting the demand of the Muslims has harmed the Hindus. Not only this but by this it has also harmed the nation.

The problem that how should be the relation between the Indian Nation and British Imperial government is more important than the relation between the provinces and central government in India. To determine this relation what should be the aim of Indian nation in the governance of the country is important. Whether the dominion status should be its aim or it should be completely a free country. The Nehru Committee had recommended for the status of dominion status. But in the annual conference of Indian National Congress of 1927 the resolution for full freedom was passed in its session. There will be none saying that our mother land should not have freedom. The demand of the Muslims is that whatever powers that the provinces will get they should be free to utilize those powers freely.

Dr. Ambedkar was one of those who advocated for dominion status position for India in 1928 though in the first Round Table Conference held in England in 1931 he changed his position by advocating that the constitution produced by the Indians alone will work in India. His argument for India's Defense purpose while supporting the dominion status position for India in 1928 is summarized below:

Those that will study the map of Asia will understand how this country is sandwitched between the two groups of nations. On one side India is encircled by China and Japan the nations of different cultures. On other side of our border we have the nations of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan the three Muslim nations which have surrounded India. We feel that India should be very careful as it is sandwitched between the two groups of nations. In the existing circumstances if China or Japan attacked India Indians will resist it unitedly. But if the free India is attacked by any above mentioned Muslim nation is there any guarantee that the Indians will unitedly face the enemy? Because there is no such guarantee that anyone can give. Because in this country the Hindus and Muslims are not merely the two social groups but they are two nations. Because the eyes of Muslims in India are fixed on the nations of Muslim culture on our north western frontier. The Muslims of India are bound to tilt their balance in favour of the Muslim nations of the frontier area. What is dangerous is that all frontier provinces of India are Muslim provinces. Therefore, these provinces in free India will be the door keepers of India. Even if these door keepers remain neutral it will be advantageous to the enemy. Hindus must remember this. Once the Muslims were very loyal to the English rulers. They were regarded as the staunch supporters of the English rule in India and were the opponents of the congress organization and its agitations. The same Muslims have become the supporters of the freedom struggle of the congress organization. But the Muslims liking for the freedom struggle is not born out of the love for the country but it is the aim of the Muslims that by bringing India out of the British Empire include it within the frame of the Muslim empire. The Muslim leader sir Ali Imam is openly revealing this in the public. Gandhiji is regarding this change among the Muslims is the result of their love for the nation. On the basis of this change among the Muslims Gandhiji is going to start his freedom struggle from 1931. May God relieve this nation from the leadership of Mahatmaji !

Our request to our country men is that whatever explanation we have given about the contents of the Nehru report they must think about it in its pros and cons. Our analysis is not based on any of our selfish motive. We have opposed the report of the Nehru Committee not because it has not taken any cognizance of the interests of the untouchables. There is a danger in accepting the report to both the Hindus as well as to India. We have fearlessly stated here the facts as they are because anything which is dangerous to the nation is also dangerous to us. It is due to this belief in us we have taken this dangerous step to explain the position as it is. We hope that our efforts will bear the fruit in shaping the public opinion against the constitutional problems of India as explained in the Nehru Report.

Exchange of Thoughts

The Message of Christ's Birth Anniversary To The Untouchables Of India And Their Leader Dr. Ambedkar

(From shri Prabhakar N. Ubale)

Dear brothers today after seeing the miserable condition of our untouchable society our heart plunges into sorrow. It is because of this we are sending this message on the birth anniversary of Jesus Christ. By this message we feel that our spiritual progress has taken place and this will enable you to attain the same. We feel that you will consider this message dispassionately by giving up your preoccupied ideas objectively.

Religion being your favourite subject naturally you are tempted towards it. It is because of this you are making demands for equal rights from the Hindus. But the Hindus are not prepared to give you those rights which you are demanding from them. The reason why they refuse to give you your rights is that you are not Hindus. Had you been Hindus they would have made you one with them long back. Therefore, your demand for equal rights from the Hindus is a futile exercise. Therefore you should not undermine the position of your humanity by touching the feet of the Hindus. But the English rule of the Christians under whom your progress is taking place you should think of their religion. Had there not been the rule of Christians in India it would not have been possible even for a man like Ambedkar to come forward as an intellectual and a leader in India. But the surprising thing is that the untouchables are keeping themselves away from the Christians who are trying to embrace them and the Hindus who treat them worst than the dogs and cats they try to go after them. Anybody will feel pity for them for their ignorance and lack of self-help.

Thought of Freeing From Sin

When we talk of religion naturally the most primary view that comes before us first is that how to free man from his sin or what will lead him to salvation. Before he thinks about this that the man must know what his sin is. Once this is realized then he will start thinking to liberate himself from the sin. While doing this on what the man should contemplate has been told by a poet in the following words:

"Liberation means what?

By what he will realise truth?
Who should be the Liberator?
Realise this after contemplation."
This means what is freeing from sin?
Who will help in freeing man from this?
How should that Liberator be?

Since untouchables are bound to tradition they do not think on these problems. So long as the untouchables do not generate in them the desire to come up, so long as their sense of self respect is not generated in them, till then there is no possibility of their coming up from their present condition of stagnation. Therefore, our appeals to them are rise up and think about the given condition on this auspicious day of the birth of Jesus Christ.

Path of Salvation

Without following the proper path nothing good can be attained in this world. Those who desire liberation have to make use of proper means. At present the people kill hen before the stone god and worship the same making the stone image of god or goddess and offering it eatables. Thus by using many means people try to attain liberation. These and such kind of means which the worshipper uses he should think whether this kind of means can lead him towards salvation. The idol is a lifeless stone which the man has given a shape to it. By sitting in front of the stone image it is impossible that the god should present himself before him. The man will not be free from sin by taking bath at the so called holy places. It is no use of studying and devoting to the teachings of saints. That will also not help their liberation because the saints have no where stated that the knower's of their thought will attain liberation. In short the means which the people use for liberation sake prove weak in some way to free the man. We must have such a means which will asure us the liberation in a concrete way.

Do not tilt towards Monotheism

There is a cult of monotheism. Its argument is that for freeing from sin or for knowing god there is no need of special efforts to know the god. The God is merciful. If we express our repentance before him he pardons us and gives us inner satisfaction. However this argument seems to be baseless. If nothing happens without the means then how can the attainment of god possible without means? This means is called by some as mediator or representative. All the religions have accepted this idea of mediator or representative.

Jesus Christ A Mediator Between Man and God

For attaining liberation and knowing god various people practice various means but it leads them nowhere. Hence by assuming the body to liberate men and make them realise the god Jesus Christ came into this sinful world. Jesus Christ himself says that god has consecrated me and sent to this world to deliver his message to the suffering man of the world. The god has sent me to this world to liberate those who are in slavery, give satisfaction to those who are sorrowful. The God says about Yesu Christ that "you are a mediator between god and man forever. God himself has appointed Jesus Christ as a mediator between him and the people.

Why Should Untouchables Accept Discipleship of Jesus Christ

1 Christ is a mediator between the God and man.

2 His message is nobler and his teaching and behaviour used to go together.

3 He regards all human beings as equal and hence he has asked all human beings to love each other. This message is very important useful to entire humanity. This principle reveals why the whole humanity should accept the discipleship of Jesus Christ.

4 He has unequivocally declared to the world that he has come here to liberate the whole mankind. I have come here to liberate the sinful people. I have been authorized to pardon the sinful men in the world. I am the entrance gate of the heaven. None can reach heaven without me.

The untouchable brothers the struggle which you have launched if it does not lead to the realization of godhood and the freedom from the sinful life do not follow that to harm your life further, come to Yesu who assures you about your liberation and freedom. This is a message we have sent to you on the day of his birth day, think over it carefully.

Bombay Presidency Mahar Vatan Conference

It is decided that this conference should meet in Bombay on 9th and 10th March 1929. Those who wish to send their help should do so on the address given below:

The name of the president will be declared later on.

N. L. Gangavane
And
Kond dev Kholwadikar
Secretaries
C/O Dr. Ambedkar
Parel, Mumbai.

This conference was organised recently at Amravati under the chairmanship of Barr. Ekanath Moreshwar Joshi. This conference was attended by about 1500 untouchables and the prominent members from the touchable community that attended were Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh, S. V. Ghokhale, Pleader, S. S. Ketkar, K. S. Chandvaskar, Barr. B. G. Kane, Principle D. K. Oak, Dr. Sabnis, Dr. Patavardhan, Dr. Varhad Pande, Jayaram Patil and H. A. Yevale, Head master Shivaji High School. Shri Ganapatrao Naik, Shivram Yashwant Gavade and Rajaram Gayakwad who took the special efforts in organizing the conference.

Resolutions that were Passed

1 Expression of sorrow over the death of Lala Lajpat Rai, the lion of Panjab.

2 Praise for Jamunalal Bajaj for his Patriotic work of throwing his own temple of Laxminarayana open to the untouchables.

3 Encouragement to inter-caste marriages and inter-caste dinning to remove the caste system among the Hindus.

4 To give evidence before the Simon Commission on behalf of the untouchables and co-operate with the commission the following members were appointed.

Shri G. A. Gavai, V. D. Makesar, S. G. Naik, J. G. Sonane, L. K. Ogale, L. S. Bhatkar, V. M. Ugale, and G. A. Tayade.

5 Complete agreement with the evidence of Dr. Ambedkar which he gave before the Simon Commission.

6 Protest against Ambadevi temple committee for not considering the just demand of the untouchables.

7 We reject the Report of the Nehru Committee for not considering the demands of the untouchables.

8 The Bill which M. L. C cetral province is introducing in the council for allowing the untouchables legally the public place like water tanks, well, caravanserai etc. for their use we support that.

9 The officers of the Hindu high school at Amravati do not permit the untouchable students to use the water from the high school well. We protest against that.

10 There should be no age limit for the students of the untouchable community. If they pass the entrance examination they should be admitted to the Normal schools. This is our request to the education department.

11 The number of scholarships for the untouchable students should be increased. To take care of the untouchable students the supervisor from untouchable community should be appointed.

12 25 percent of the government services should be kept reserved for the untouchables and their age limit should be from 25 to 30 years.

13 The pay of the Vatan holding Mahars of the Varhad area is very merge, it should be enhanced.

14 Full confidence in the ministry of Rao of Varhad.

15 Eating carrion must be prohibited by law.

16 To find out the difficulties in the path of the progress of the untouchables the government has appointed a committee under Mr. Kilse Saheb as a special officer. To explain the difficulties of the untouchables before him the committee of following members is appointed: shri G. A. Gavai, V. D. Makesar, S. G. Naik, V. S. Ugle L. K. Ogale, J. B. Sonane, Shabuji Shirsat, Gunavantrao Tayade.

17 Art and skill based professions must be included in the curriculum of the education to bring about economic progress of the untouchables.

S. G. Naik

Other Public Meetings

On 16 – 12 – 28 at Karanjadi under the chairmanship of shri P. R. Hate a public meeting of the untouchables took place. It was resolved in the meeting that help should be rendered to the press fund, whenever there a quarrel or fighting between the untouchables on one hand the Marathas and the Muslims on the other hand rendering the help of the untouchables as they are in minority and still depend on the villages, and punishing those who take the stand against the untouchable brothers.

On 23 – 12 – 28 the conference of the Mahars was organized at Malegaon. Shri G. A. D. Washif MLC was the president. In the conference loyalty to the king of England, prayer to the god for good health of the king support to Vatan Bill, request to the Sholapur Municipality to restart the boarding fund which is stopped, request to the government to enhance the scholarship amount of the untouchable students were the resolutions that were passed.

On 26 – 12 – 28 at Ibrampur Taluka Chiplun, District Ratnagiri there was held a public meeting of Vatan holding Mahars of surrounding area. The resolution to support the Vatan Bill was passed.

On 27 – 12 – 28 at Nimon, Taluka Sangmner District Nagar a public meeting of the Mahars was held on account of the festival of goddess Jagdambe. Shri G. K. Gulve presided over the meeting. The support was unanimously expressed to the Mahar Vatan Bill. Shri M. Y. Katkande B.A.B.H; Shinde Master (teacher); D. D. Tapase and Haribhakt Chandbuwa spoke on the occasion.

On 28 – 12 – 28 at Palwani almost 17 villagers (Mahars) around the area gathered there for the public meeting and they gave their full support to the Mahar Vatan Bill introduced in the Bombay Legislative council by Dr. Ambedkar. They sent Rs. 35/- to the Mahar Vatan Parishad as help.

On 6 – 1 – 29 there took place a public meeting of the Mahars at Gavele under the chairmanship of Hari Vithoba Sakapal and the full support was expressed to the Mahar Vatan Bill. Other resolutions of self-help were also passed.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
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I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden, now Parth be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 2nd] Friday, Dated 1st Feb. 1929 [issue 6th

This Inequality Is only For Equality

The evidence which Dr. Ambedkar gave before the Simon Commission, on the various points of that evidence various people have raised various objections. In these objections the objections raised by the touchables are many and the objections raised by the untouchable members are few. We have already refuted many of these objections. We have very clearly shown how considering the condition of untouchables our evidence was quite appropriate. We are very happy to note that the explanation which we have given has stood acceptable to most of them. Particularly the stand taken by Dr. Ambedkar has been almost filly acclaimed by the untouchables. It is likely that the minds of some untouchables may be in doubts but soon these doubts will also become cleared and acceptable as the need of time. Now the only thing is that the objections coming from the touchables have not yet stopped and it is unlikely that those will stop in near future. We know that the continuing the refutation of their opinion is a waste of time. But inspite of this position we have to take up the issue of refuting them because it is likely that if we do not answer their objections those may mislead our people. Hence our effort is not to convince the touchables but to save our people from the touchables mispropoganda.

Among the touchable's objections one objection is that Dr. Ambedkar himself is the leader and the chairman of the "Social Equality League" then how is that he has demanded the caste wise representation for the untouchables? To demand for any community the caste-wise representation is not this social inequality? This objection was raised first of all by the editor of the magzin "Chitramay Jagat" of Pune, and afterwards this objection was repeated by many papers. On such objections our contention is that these petty minded men have not understood the purpose behind our demand. Had they understood our purpose behind our demand they would not have indulged in this kind of mud throwing. These critics must be thinking that to treat all equal is the aim of the members of the equality league. But this is their mistake. The aim of the equality league is not to treat all equal but to establish equality in society. While attaining this objective it is not possible to treat all as equal. Where all are equal there by treating some with discrimination inequality will be produced. But where individuals are unequal there treating them as all equal means opposing the efforts of establishing equality. An example of a diseased man will suit here quite appropriately. A healthy man can digest the rough and tough food but if taking healthy man and a diseased man as equal the same food is served to both by an advocate of equality there he will prove to be the killer of a diseased man instead of saving his life. Similarly it is a matter of foolishness to say that there should be the equal tax for both the poor and the rich. These examples will prove that the philosophy of the social equality league is that not to treat those who are

Equal As Unequal And Unequal As Equal

When we follow this principle no one will say that the demand made by Dr. Ambedkar is unjustifiable. Had both touchables and untouchables been in the same position there was a scope to take objection to the demand made by Dr. Ambedkar. It would have been said possibly that Dr. Ambedkar is producing the division among the people of the same level. It is quite clear that between the touchables and untouchables there is no equality in any aspect of life in Hindu Society. There is a world of difference between the two people in matters of wealth, education and population. In the field of education the touchables are advanced and the untouchables are backward, in wealth the touchables are rich and the untouchables are poor and in strength of population the touchables are strong and the untouchables are weak. This means the position of untouchables in all the fields is weak. Under the circumstances if these two classes are to be treated as equal, is it then possible to bring about any change in their mutual relations.

Those who take the meaning of "Equality League" as equal treatment they definitely cause the disastrous position for the untouchables. This is made amply clear in the explanation given above. To show falsely that there is an inconsistency in the language and action of Dr.Ambedkar the critics have played this trick. Dr. Ambedkar is fully aware that there is no inconsistency between his thinking and his demands that he has placed before the Simon Commission. Dr. Ambedkar is well aware that there is no inconsistency between the demands that he has placed before the Simon Commission and the principle of equality. Without understanding the existing situation properly treating sick man and healthy man, rich and poor, advanced people and backward people, majourity and minority people on the same equality plain is not the cult of Dr. Ambedkar. Had it been so he would not have made any difference between the touchables and untouchables and the demand which he has made before the Simon Commission would not have been made.

The caste Hindus objection to the demands made by Dr. Ambedkar is quite clear. The demand of Dr. Ambedkar is going to make untouchables and the touchables equal in the political affairs of India. And this is what the caste Hindus do not want to happen. There were many blows to the Varna system of the Hindus. There were many revolts against the Chatur Varna. In that the revolt of Bhagwat cult in Maharashtra was the main one. But the purpose of this revolt was quite different. It was based on whether the earthly Brahman is superior to devotee. In this quarrel even Brahmins accepted that the devotee is superior to the Brahmin but this quarrel did not help either ending the Varna system or undermining the position of the Varna system. The cover of devotion cannot add anything to humanity. The value of humanity is self evident. The saints did not struggle to establish this principle. Therefore, the pressure of Chaturya Varna remained on society as it was. On the contrary the revolt of the saints had adverse effect on society. It gave a weapon in the hands of the Brahmins. They started arguing that you become a saint like Chokhamela then we will respect you. This gave a new weapon in the hands of the Brahmins to undermine the position of the untouchables. By this kind of weapon the mouths of the Dalits who murmur against Brahmins are shut is the feeling of the Brahmins. And it is with the help of this weapon the Brahmins have shut the mouths of untouchables and the non-Brahmins. Now the backward classes should think that whether they can be salvaged if a man like Chokhamela is born among them. After deep thinking it will be understood that this kind of thing will not happen by such event. Individual capability is respectful but for many times it is not worth emulating. And hence when we compare individual capability with collective capability we find that collective capability is more advantageous than individual ability. However high the capability may be it would be nothing before the collective power of the people. Hence the circumstance which suppresses the power of the collective group of people is worth forsaking. At the most a man like Chokhamela may emerge from that. But what about the position of whole society? Should the whole society live in the condition as untouchable for one man? If we see the history of untouchables and Non-Brahmins we will find that among them were lofty men like Himalaya but they did not raise the collective level of the society. Its reason is the existence of the four orders (Chaturya Varnas) in society from the ancient past. Some rare individuals come out of it but 99 people out of 100 become the victims of the system. The untouchables and the Non-Brahmins have been reduced almost non-pulsed in this social system and the Brahmins think that this existing system is advantageous to them. Those who rebelled against this system because of inadequacies in their revolt their revolt remained ineffective. But today the time to end the system has come.

Political Power Slipping To The Hands of Dalits Will End the Inequality of Varna System

The Chaturya Varna system has survived till to this day only because the political power has never attacked it. The stale power has always stood in support of it. Not only the Hindu kings supported it but even the Muslim rulers stood by it. The English rulers were very shrewd. In order to prevent the upcoming of the untouchables the English rulers bestowed the political power on the Brahmins who are most superior in the Varna system. It is only by the demand of Dr. Ambedkar this cart of Varnas may likely to collapse. Among the upper caste Hindus who have understood the game well in the demand of Dr. Ambedkar are making noise against him for the demand that he has placed before the Simon Commission.

The demand that Dr. Ambedkar has made that the untouchables must be treated as separate people from the Hindus the secret of this demand has not been understood by many people. Among the Hindus those who feel that the untouchables are like thorns in the path of the Hindus and it is better if they remained separate from the Hindus liked this demand. They feel that by this demand their one big problem will be over. There are some others who think that this caste wise political demand is against some political idea. Why should Dr. Ambedkar make this demand when he is trying to establish equality relations between the touchables and the untouchables? This is the argument of some other group of people among the Hindu politicians. Our answer to the first group of people is that we think of going out not to reform our path by ourselves but to attack Brahmanism. Freeing this country by attacking Brahmanism is also the duty of not only of Hindus but also the duty of Mohamedans and Christians. We would like to go out because it is better that instead of suffocating ourselves by remaining in such a house it is better to go out for the purpose of attacking it. To the second category of the people our answer is that we would like to establish equal relations with the Hindus not by remaining in Hinduism as their slaves. We want to become equal with the Hindus in every respect. This is the main aim of Dr. Ambedkar's plan. If some people look to it applying some superficial ideas of inequality they must know that inequality is for attaining the goal of equality.

Incidental Thoughts

1 In the last issue of our paper we have printed the message of Jesus Christ's birthday message sent by shri P. N. Ubale referring particularly to the untouchables in India. There is no doubt that shri Ubale had sent this message with urge and well wishing purpose. However, none can say that all well wishing messages can be without inadequacies. Even the well wishing idea can contain some defects. In the thought contents of Ubale's message some such mistakes have remained unknowingly. It will be thought that we have not done our job well as editor of the paper if we do not discuss these mistakes. Shri Ubale is a staunch follower of Jesus Christ. By his message, there must be the feeling that he has done a good thing for the cause of Christianity. The idea in which a man has faith if he feels that others should also follow him there is nothing wrong in it. He has appealed the untouchables to become the followers of Jesus Christ we have nothing to say on this. Only thing we would like to say here is that foundation on which shri Ubale is standing and telling the untouchables to become Christians is wrong.

2 Shri Ubale seems to be a very much religious and emotional minded man. In his message he has given much emphasis on religion and not on man's rights. The untouchables struggle is not for freeing from the sin or for knowing the god but for wining social rights. Nobody will say that for freeing

from sin for realization of god there is a need of any social or collective moment. Because the entire society can never be sinful. Even if it is taken for granted that the movement of the untouchables is for freeing from the sin and for the realization of god for this whether there is any need of a middle man is doubtful and even if it is so we do not think that there is a need of Jesus Christ. One must respect the teaching of Jesus Christ and for his ideal that man must behave what he thinks. But to say that there is no any middle man other than Jesus Christ is not acceptable it is equally emotional and based on faith. Shri Ubale has given the list of promises that the Jesus Christ has given to his followers. He has also posed the question whether anybody other than Jesus Christ has given such promises. Bhagwat Gita is quite capable to give answer to this question. Shrikrishna also tells his devotees in Gita that he will liberate them if they surrender him. And he is also declaring there that he is existing from eternity. He has given all these assurances not only to a particular people or to a particular class. His message covers all including women, vaisya and shudra. Who will say that this message of shrikrishna is not similar to the message of Jesus Christ? Not only the Bhagwat Gita even if one read smaller religious books called Pothi-Puranas he will find the assurance of liberation, happiness, prosperity given to the followers of even the smaller sects.

3 Truly speaking the untouchables need no such assurances. It is wrong to state that the untouchables are sinful people. The untouchability of the untouchables is not the result of their sin. It is the result of their enslavement by their conquerors. When this is so where is the need for them to search for the mediator or the traveler from the house of god. If at all there are any sinful people among the untouchables they can attain liberation by remaining in Hinduism only. The Hindus have assured the untouchables that for attaining liberation the untouchable's untouchability cannot come on their way. Chokamela, Rohidas etc. were untouchables but they attained liberation. If the untouchables today follow the path of Pandharpur (a holy place) by beating musical instrument called Tal and Mridang for attaining Moksa (liberation) no Hindu

will prevent them. But the real problem is that if the untouchables insist that they should be allowed to take water from the private well or private tank and their children be allowed to sit in the government schools together with their children then against this demand not only the Hindus on earth but even 33 crores of Hindu gods will descend down to the earth and join the Hindus in beating the untouchables. The Ratnagiri District school board by its resolution allowed the untouchable students to sit together with touchable students. On this a newspaper of Ratnagiri called "Satya Shodhak" (truth finder) wrote under the "God has become angry," to show its opposition to the Board's resolution.

4 If the untouchables struggle to attain Moksa (liberation) both the caste Hindus and their gods are not opposed to this but when the same untouchables make a move to demand equal social rights both the caste Hindus and the Hindu gods are opposed to this claim of untouchables tooth and nail. Why this is so is a matter worth considering. The man who will understand this inconsistent behaviour of the Hindus and the Hindu gods, it should be presumed that he has understood the secrets of Hindu religious system. The religious precepts of the Hindus are very lofty. But the Hindus have separated their social behaviour from their lofty religious principles. It is because of this only we find the idea that god is everywhere but we practice the social segregation against the so called untouchables. To prevent untouchables from revolting some big ideas have also been placed before them. This is the secret of the high ideas and mean behaviour. For a long time the untouchables did not understand this shrewdness of the caste Hindus. But now the untouchables have understood the deceiving project of the caste Hindus. It is because of this realization the untouchables have started their own movement to secure their right to equality. If the untouchables are to be advised for conversion it will have to be done on this foundation of thinking only. In Christianity all men have equal rights and equal opportunities. Therefore, the untouchables should become the followers of that religion is an opinion which is worth respecting though not willingly acceptable among the

untouchables. But the idea that the untouchables should become Christians for attaining liberation, for attainment of god and for freeing from sin will not be acceptable on any rational grounds. Moreover the untouchables can attain these things by remaining in Hinduism.

5 On this argument shri Ubale should not misunderstand that Dr. Ambedkar or untouchables are afraid of conversion. Dr. Ambedkar and the untouchables only think that their purpose will not be served by conversion. If the idea of freeing themselves from the untouchability individually is confined to their own individuals that purpose would have been served immediately by conversion. But the people of untouchable community do not want to do only this much. They want to destroy Brahmanical system which believes and practices socio-religious inequality in every walk of life from individual's birth to death. This tendency of Hindus will not be destroyed only by untouchables becoming the Christians. Among the Christians also there are caste distinctions such as Brahman Christians, the Maratha Christians etc. hence we feel that instead of becoming Christians attack the Brahmanism till to its end by remaining in Hinduism only. Instead of running away from the untouchability fight it until it ends by remaining there only.

6 We have already written about the shrewdness in the work of Mate Master of Pune against anti-untouchability programme of his association. In order to strengthen the Bramanical party against the Non-Brahmin party he shows his sympathy towards the untouchables. Recently he gave a lecture on Chaturya Varna at Pune. He stated in his lecture that there were more facilities to the untouchables during the Peshwa rule than in English rule in India. This information was given to him by an untouchable leader said shri Mate. He also stated that this information given to him is very much true. Shri Mate must know that his efforts of sailing lies will go waste. The present generation of untouchables is not foolish enough to believe in such lies.

7 Whether this revelation is really of an untouchable leader or a yes man of Mate who has made him a leader for his emergency use. This possibility cannot be ruled out. This Mate made untouchable leader may be shri Sakat, an untouchable worker in Mate group. Only Sakat can play this kind of mischievous game falling prey to the tactics of shri Mate. If Mate says that the Peshwa rule was better for the untouchables our question to him is were the public water tanks, wells, schools etc. open to the untouchables? Did they enter the government services? Were the public places open to the use of the untouchables? Really speaking these concessions were never there in the past. It is true that the English government did not do as much efforts as it was expected to do to promote the progress of the untouchables. Whatever the English government is doing to help the untouchables, we feel is not their obligation on the untouchables. But whatever little that the English people could do was not at all done by the Peshwa government. Some Brahmins say that Peshwas tied the broom to the waist and hung the pot in the neck of the untouchables is a Satya Shodhaki fraud. If this is so what about the C. K. Ps and the Marathas whom the Brahmins regarded as the shudras and refused to perform Vedic rites on them? The discovery that Mate Master has made about the Peshwas rule must not be based on the version of an untouchable leader but it must be based on the novel like idea of his own.

8 shri Mate's speech making function shri G. V. Ketkar, the former editor of Kesari, was the president. In his presidential speech shri Ketkar compared the supporters of Brahmanism with the white men in South Africa and told the audience that between the two Brahmanised Hindus are better. The white men in South Africa treated the Negroes cruelly whereas we treated the untouchables of India with modesty and leniently. Shri Ketkar's statement does not hold truth as it is based on lies. It is likely that such statements may produce confusion in the thinking of the masses. Those who view the situation superficially will think that in Africa the white people beat the Negroes with whip; they beat them by kicking and

harass them mentally and physically beyond any measure. But our touchable Hindus do not do anything of this kind to our untouchable brothers. The soul pervades all is the principle while they follow in behaving with everybody. But this assertion is absolutely wrong based on misunderstanding. The Hindus harass the untouchables hundred times more than the whites torturing the Negroes. The only difference is that white torture the Negroes physically and the caste Hindus tortures the untouchables mentally. And many times there is a physical torture also. The untouchables must remain where they are, they must not make efforts to come up from their given condition, they should not use good cloths, their women should not wear good ornaments these are the desires of the caste Hindus which form the causes of mental harassment of the untouchables. When the untouchables go against these conditions then there begins their physical harassment by the caste Hindus. Such examples are often noticed by our readers in their day to day life. So long as the untouchables remain where they are tolerated the moment they try to move out of their slavery imposed on them by the caste Hindus their trouble starts. The Negroes are harassed for the selfish interests of the whites but here the untouchables are harassed by the caste Hindus to satisfy their ego more than anything else. This is the difference between the white man in Africa and the caste Hindus in India. If the white man has harassed the Negroes physically the caste Hindus have slaved the so called untouchables mentally. The latter is more terrible than the former.

9 The Education Department was with the English Government up to this day. The Government being alien it did not pay sufficient attention towards the education of the people. Particularly it neglected the education of the untouchables. According to the new reform act the Education Department is with the natives and the injustice done in the education field will go was the view of the people. But this hope has remained only the hope without much scope of improvement in it. The Poona school board contends that if government sanctions the finance it will open hostels for the

untouchable students and appoint a super wiser to superwise the untouchable students in the schools. When the government has assigned the education department to the natives naturally the department has to manage the finances of the department.

10 In Punjab there is going on a Satyagraha on an important issue. When we think of any Satyagraha there comes the image of Mahatma Gandhi before our eyes. But this Satyagraha launched by the military soldiers from Lahore and its surrounding area is different. The Sikh and Muslim soldiers laid their lives in the world war and their women and children numbering about 5 to 6 thousand have launched a Satyagraha. Those soldiers who have returned alive after the end of the world war have been relieved from their military services and are unemployed now and those who laid down their lives their children and women are leading a life of poverty. Taking care of their subsistence is the duty of the government. But the government has not cared to shoulder this responsibility till to this day. Hence this Satyagraha has been launched. They are demanding farm land from the government. If the government is not capable to meet this demand it must make some other arrangement for earning their livelihood. During the Great War government barrowed loans from the rich people. The government is now returning their loan money back. But the government instead of returning the loan money can treat it as help to the government and that money should be spent in making some provision for these helpless people.

11 Amir Amanulla of Afghanistan is known for his revolutionary thoughts. But he had to abdicate the power. After this it seems that his revolutionary thoughts have remained beyond the reach of the people of Afghanistan. It is heard that behind his abdication of power there is a role of some big nations of the world. This may be true to some extent but the real fact seems to be that the old traditional views of Afghan people is the real cause behind his going out of power. The reforms which Amanulla introduced in Afghanistan were intolerable to Mullamaulavis of Afghanistan. Amanulla wanted to make progress of Afghan people. This was coming in the

way of the selfish interests of Mullamaulavis. Mullamauavis always set aside the interest of the nation for their selfish interests. By instigating the people of Afghanistan against Amanulla they have showed their interest in anti-national ideas and in old backward looking traditional part of religion. How strong these people are and how much preparation is to be made to defeat them has been indicated by this example.

The Letters of Lokhitwadi

Letter No. 9

Native Officers

Request with special information; In your last issue you had printed with a signature as a Hindu a letter criticizing certain common occurring. Though the criticism may not be true hundred percent but there is an enough grain of truth in it. Among the natives there are very few learned people and those that are learned and virtuous they enjoy prestige in the government. If anything goes wrong there is no need of blaming all. Those who study in English schools among them there are many who unnecessarily take pride in it. The man in whose house there are chairs and tables, fans, coachs, books etc. his neighbours and others regard him as an English educated learned man. In fact that man does not understand the meaning of what he reads, and his meager reading. Generally there is no reading of history, education and sciences on his part. English education is like an ocean. But by reading two books, wearing English hat, by possessing handkerchief and holding stick in the hand no one can become learned. It is not that all men who have received English education are learned men.

Even an ordinary English man is better than a Hindu but the Hindus should not entertain the idea that if the number of learned men among the natives is increased they will not get the higher job in government. Because the reward of education is the education itself. The knowledge is power. Let the number of learned men among the natives increase and then see whether they get good jobs or not. If the English government refuses to give them jobs these people by their shrewd tactics will definitely get the jobs. Oneness or their unity is their power. If the man is wise he will earn money. The white man feels confident about the learning of the natives. Today the natives are not much confident. English men always crush them like the crushing of the bugs. But still they keep relations with the native workers. While going home from the office they take some 10 to 15 peons with them. While going home they walk in style so that their women or keeps will gather good impression about them. He does not feel that why should he keep government officers unnecessarily at Home? If these people work in the office the office work of the public will be done as early as possible. In short the native workers and officers are foolish people. English people give them jobs. The natives have no guts to do even this also. Once I have heard from the villagers that the rule of English Saheb is good. Sahib does justice with the people well. But Brahmins poisoning the ears of the English rulers destroy our houses. This is generally the impression of the Rayats. And this impression is true. So long as these native people are selfish and anti-social who will take their side?

Correspondence

(4) Pune District Board And The Untouchables.

As per the Reformed Act some power has been given to the people as swarajya installment. The most important of this installment is the education Department and this Department has been given to the District Local Board for the last 4-5 years. The work done by the Pune District Board for the last 4-5 years regarding the untouchables is given below:

1 Pune school Board in February 1928 has passed a resolution to show the sympathy towards untouchables. The resolution is as follows. For 5th to 7th standard boys a free boarding should be established in the District. This resolution was sent to the District Board which resolved that if the government is going to finance such boarding the board has no objection in starting the Boarding. The District Board sent this resolution to the government.

Earlier the government was often criticized for not making the primary education free and compulsory. Now the government has freed itself from that often repeated criticism. The board knew that the government will not share the financial burden for the boarding. The government sent the reply in negative and Pune Board freed itself from helping the untouchables in matter of their education.

2 Now the second part of the Pune District school board will be that they are thinking to pass a resolution that to superwise the schools for untouchables there should be the untouchable supervisors. As in case of starting a boarding here also they will state that the salary of the supervisors should be paid by the government and the government as usual will give the negative answer and the second part of the drama of showing the sympathy of the school board of Pune will come to an end. Now the board itself should decide whether it is its sympathy towards the untouchable classes or it is its mockery towards the untouchables. it is expected that the Board instead of showing lip sympathy towards the untouchables should implement the programmes helpful to the untouchables.

1 Sambhaji Raghuji Bagare
Of Village Gajubai (Baramati)
District Pune.
2 Shankar Dagadu Dhende
Village Belsar Dist. Pune.

Brahmanism In Nasik District Local Board

In the Local Board meeting of Dist. Nasik shri Bhaurao Krishnarao Gaikwad asked a question on 26 – 7 – 28 that in the public places like wells, tanks, caravanserais, schools etc. the untouchability is practiced. On this what is the opinion of the Board? The board expressed its opinion in writing that as decided by the government the board does not differentiate between the touchables and untouchables in making use of these public places. Then the board collected the information about the number of public places manned by the board in the district and in how many places the untouchables are allowed to make use of them. Except the president of Nasik Taluka the presidents of all other Talukas reported that the Mahars are not allowed to draw the water even from the well owned by the local board. They reported that:

1 Touchables never allow the Mahars to draw water even from the public wells.

2 The untouchables have no freedom to take water from these public wells.

3 There is no practice of untouchables drawing water from these public wells.

On 18 – 10 – 28 shri Gaikwad submitted the list of public wells, tanks, caravanserais etc. in the district, and suggested to the board that it should display the board in front of all these public places stating that in the use of these places the government does not distinguish between the touchables and the untouchables. In the board meeting of 20 – 12 – 28 shri Gaikwad introduced this resolution. Shri Raosaheb Kale of Malegaon seconded it. Shri Rao Bahadur Dhumal suggested that this kind of board should be displayed only on the school buildings. Such boards are not necessary on school buildings in the present circumstances was the opinion of many.

There was much debate on the issue of putting the board on wells, tanks, caravanserais etc. when put to vote this proposal was defeated by 7 versus 12 votes. The Non-Brahmins who opposed the Brahmins supremacy tooth and nail opposed Gaikwad's proposal and voted along with Brahmin members.

From a reporter

Touchable's Injustice to untouchables

At a village called Arala R. Taluka Daryapur, District Amravati there was a problem of drinking water for Mahars and such other untouchables and they complained to the officers. The government officers personally visited the place and asked the touchables that they should allow untouchables to take the water. But it was of no use. Ultimately the untouchables applied to the local board of the District that they should be allowed to take water from the well owned by the District local board. The chairman of the board gave his endorsement on their application that according to the law of 1923 the untouchables are free to take the water from any public well. As per this decision the untouchables on 9- 1- 29 went to the government well to fetch the water. But the touchables did not tolerate this; they attacked the untouchables and severely beat about 20 to 25 untouchable members. The litigation is going on between both the parties in the sub-division office of Daryapur.

S. G. Naik

Our Reader's Views

Why Do Untouchables Convert To Other Religions

(Author:- Krishna Nayaku Sutar, Kalambi)

The Religion of One's Own Is Beneficial
And The Religion of Others Is Harmful
Shri Krishn

There is a world of difference between the Hindu religion of Krishna's time and the Hindu religion of today.

During the time of Shri Krishna there were no castes, no many religions and no so many sects. Shri Krishna must have uttered the above mentioned exclamations due to the prevailing circumstance are quite appropriate suiting to the condition prevailing then.

In the time of Shri Krishna all Hindus had equal religious and social rights. Hence it was considered profitable to behave according to one's own religion until his death and following others religion was thought to be a horrible act. But in course of time there were born many religions and sects in Hindu religion and among the Hindus there were born enumerable castes and hence wise men by thinking that Hinduism has now become a worthless religion are advocating that the people may think of going over to the other religions. When we consider the present situation this advocacy is quite appropriate also. The religion by which man acquires happiness and peace both in this world and in other world that religion is true religion and it is quite appropriate that man should live in such a religion.

The religion in which neither happiness nor peace is possible in this birth its talk of gaining these in other world is fruitless.

Untouchables by living in Hinduism are living the life of misery and sorrow as slaves, no question of their position in other world.

The touchables call the untouchables as Hindus, they regard them as brothers of the same nation and the same village but when the same untouchables come to fetch the water from the well in the village or claims to worship the village deity by entering the village temple the touchables assault them and injure them. And when the some Mahar becomes a Muslim he can freely draw the water from the village well and freely enter the temple of the Hindus. Not only this but the Hindus do not hesitate to eat the food cooked by the converted Mahar or Mang.

Some orthodox minded Hindus argue that the untouchables lead a very dirty life; they eat the flesh of the dead animals. Hence they refuse to touch them or allow them to draw the water from the caste Hindu wells or tanks or to enter the Hindu temples. No man can remain clean without water. If the touchables prevent the untouchables from drawing water how can the untouchables remain clean?

Moreover there are many people among the touchables who lead the life dirtier than the life of untouchables. Why should they not be prevented from drawing the water from the wells and entering the temples in the villages?

It is not that only the untouchables eat the flesh of the animals. The people of many other religions eat the flesh of the animals.

The Muslims and Europeans eat the flesh of the animals. Hindus knowing this fact well eat flesh, bread and drink the tea in Irani Hotels. Similarly they eat the food in the house of European Saheb without any hesitation. But our own countrymen the untouchables, who follow the Hindu religion theirs not only the food but even their touch is regarded as unholy.

Why should the untouchables not embrace the other religion where human rights are granted to them instead of staying in the sorrowful religion of the Hindus?

The human rights of the untouchables are trampled under the feet of the Hindus. Untouchables are treated mercilessly and all the roads of their progress are mercilessly blocked. The untouchables should courageously follow the path of self-help by removing all the thorns that are spread on the path of their progress. The untouchables must prove that they are also the men like the touchables. Similarly the untouchables must free themselves from the slavery of the touchables once for all. Hence their leader Dr. Ambedkar has proclaimed it before the world that the untouchables should not remain in the Hinduism; they should lead their life independently. This thought of Dr. Ambedkar is absolutely useful to the untouchables in their existing condition.

But there are some people who are asking some untouchables to condemn Dr. Ambedkar's above mentioned beneficial ideas and after hearing the misguiding views of the opponents some untouchables without giving much thought to the views of adversaries are nodding their heads like the aged bulls. This is the misfortune of the untouchable community.

Now a days many people give lectures from the public platform on the amelioration of the condition of the untouchables. Many resolutions are also passed in such meetings. But these speeches and resolutions are never practiced outside these public meetings. The touchables will feel that so long as the speeches made and the resolutions passed in the public meeting are not brought in to practice they will feel that they are hardening the practice of untouchability instead of weakening it.

The untouchables have enough experience of the sympathy of the touchables towards them. The untouchables have now become wise enough to know where lays the path of their salvation. They have now realized that the sympathy shown in the speeches of the touchables from the public platform is simply a farce. Hence without the self-help there is no other remedy for the untouchables for their redemption. Knowing this situation well the leaders of the untouchables must have proposed to the untouchables the path of separating from the Hindus.

If the six crores of untouchables resign from Hinduism there will be big breach in the walls of Hinduism. The people of other religions may enter into the Hinduism from this breach and it is likely that the Hinduism may suffer further.

Hindus knowing this danger well should reform themselves in their attitude towards the untouchables and restore all their human rights which they have deprived of from them. If this happens the untouchables will never think of leaving Hinduism and entering into other religion. Why should then the untouchables enter the other's religion?

Warning To Indian Nation

(Author:- Khandanak Rajnak Inamdar)

It is not necessary to tell the man in India how by taking birth in India he is inevitably caught into the vortex of caste discrimination thereby facing the process of his decline. When the fire of caste hatred is burning in the mind of the people it is pity that the proper efforts are not made to curb the caste practices and the practice of untouchability. When we consider the condition in Indian society minutely we will think how futile it is to launch merely the freedom movement without tying with it the other problems. And this has been amply proved by the results of the political movements carried on so far.

In one way it is good that by struggling for 50 years the National Congress did not achieve much to its credit due to the reasons which are very well known to the circle of thinking men in India.

At least hereafter if the national party starts struggling to destroy caste system and the practice of untouchability this will help creating nationalistic feelings among the people. This will be the beginning of pangs of nationalistic feelings in India. In this contension some people may say that if in India the feelings of nationalism are not produced then how is it that some people are demanding for the freedom of the coutry?

It is here that lays the intelligence of the Indian people. If they write Ramayana before the birth of Rama why then that they should not demand for swarajya before the birth of nationalism? It is the right of the Indian people to do and speak the things which are not their area. Had they been wise people they would not have spoken about the freedom of the country without destroying castes and the practices of untouchability.

Among the workers and the leaders of Indian National Congress can we see any outlook of national oneness, urge to uplift poor and suppressed people and to end the inhuman practice of casteism and untouchability?

Their noise of national movement has benumbed the ears of the public. The people are feeling the omitting senses due to their dry sermons. Due to the tactics of the leaders of the Sabha the social atmosphere in the country has become unhealthy. This national congress in a way is hindering the progress of the healthy movements in the country.

When we see the existence of thousands of castes, the big crowd of sects and religions and in addition to this the helpless tears of the untouchables we feel pity for those who demand for freedom without touching these problems that have perpetuated in the country since the ancient days.

The country where the touch of the 1/4th of population is not tolerated there what kind of freedom is demanded by some people is not understandable.

Hence issuing warning to the people who are conducting the movement in the name of the country is absolutely essential.

Hypocracy of The Touchables

(From our Reporter)

At Barsi in the last week of December 1928 and the first week of January 1929 the speeches of Diwekar Shastri of Hindu Mahasabha were arranged on the "Eradication of the Untouchability." These lectures were meant for high caste Hindu circles, particularly the Brahmins and the untouchables could not attend the lectures. After Diwekar Shastri left Barsi on 14 – 1 – 29 that is on Makar Sankrati day to distribute Tilgul (sweetened sesame seed this is a Hindu festival on which day as a friendly gesture Hindus distribute Tilgul and express good will towards each other) some prominent Non-Brahmins and others came to Maharwada (untouchable's locality). Here they advised the untouchables that we are all brothers, we belong to the same caste, all castes are equally important in their own way, the idea of high and low is one's own mental state of affair, we are all the sons of god. Therefore, there is no difference between you and us. The social bycott that is put on you will be lifted up gradually. We should give up the conflict that has grown between us. We will work together for the cause of the nation by keeping aside the quarrels amongst us. The quarreling brothers become one when there is emergency. Similarly we should become one for national cause. They then told the untouchables further that they should remain in Hinduism, remain clean, and take education. This was their advice to the untouchables. They gave a liberal advice to the untouchables that if they learn to play the band instruments they will invite them only at the time of marriage instead of inviting the Muslims. But shri Dhawale who was among these visitors to the untouchable locality suggested that the inter-dinning together both the touchables and untouchables will be the real test of both becoming one.

After this programme of advising the untouchables by the touchables, the head master of school no.7 shri Agavane Chambhar by caste said that if you are to make serious efforts to eradicate the untouchability then remove the hurdles in the path of untouchable's economic and educational progress. Let the untouchables have their own shops and the touchable purchase the things from these shops. Give them jobs in the municipality offices etc. Then the head master of school no.8 said that if there are any real lovers of Hinduism it is the untouchables. The untouchables by tolerating all kinds of insults and harassment and for the protection of Hinduism many so called untouchables have sacrificed their lives. And what is the reward of it to the untouchables? The reward is that with the death of Mahar the sin has gone is the saying popular among the touchables. This saying shows with what kind of contempt the touchables view the Mahars.

Had the touchable Hindus really loved the untouchables they would not have thrown dirt in their wells, they would not have raised the banner of bycott on their entry into the village, ban on buying things from their shops in the villages. But now suddenly the seeds of love for us are growing in you and we know the cause of this sudden change in you. We will not be deceived by your calculated tactics. We will not be the prey of your misleading us. Ours is the struggle for self elevation and not for demanding the beggary. We do not want to play the band music in the marriage ceremony of the caste Hindus. We will attain our objective by our bravery. Do not be under the misunderstanding that only you need swarajya and we do not need it. We do not want that swarajya where you are the masters and we are the slaves or as stated by the editor of Bahishkrit Bharat "your private ownership of swarajya." We want that swarajya which has been demanded by Dr. Ambedkar and Dr. Solanki in their statement to Simon Commission. But you are opposed to that. You are not only opposed to the common basic rights of the untouchables but you are also opposed to the political rights of the untouchables. How much tactics you play against the education of the untouchables? The sun and moon may change their course while moving but your attitude towards the untouchables will not change and since we know it perfectly well that we are not in a possition to mix with you.

After this speech this Makar Sankrati festival programme was ended.

Public Meetings In Bombay

On 1 – 1 – 1929 under the Chairmanship of shri Jadhav, on behalf of shri Tadilkar a public meeting was arranged. Many speakers spoke tracing the need for ending the evil practices in the society of the untouchables. On this occasion there was a naming ceremony of a child and shri Tadilkar donated the gift money of the naming ceremony to the "Mahar Service Sangh (union)."

On 20 – 1 – 1929 a meeting was organized near Bombay port trust under the chairmanship shri D. V. Pradhan to discuss organizing the second conference of the "untouchables at Khed-Chiplun in the month of May." The resolution to organise the above stated conference was passed. The other resolutions that were passed after some discussion were (1) support to Mahar Vatan Bill; Help to Mahar Vatan Parishad and protest against the touchables committing atrocities on Mahars in the Konkan. The men who addressed the meeting were (1) shri Thakare, (2) shri Jadhav, (3) shri Adarekar, Vadvalkar and shri Kharvatkar.

On 27 – 1 – 1929 under the chairmanship of shri D. V. Pradhan on behalf of the people of Jangira princely state untouchables a public meeting was organized near the Air Press Mill. Thakare, Jadhav, Mandlekar, Adarekar, Khalwadikar, Mohite etc. spoke in the meeting. They all supported the Vatan Bill in their speeches. They also decided to give full support to Khed-Chiplun conference. They also resolved to protest against the touchables of the Konkan area for their atrocities on the untouchables.

Other Public Meetings

On 15 – 12 – 28 at Vakilwadi Taluka Satara under the chairmanship of shri Madhavrao Malojirao Kamble a public meeting of Mahars was organized. By expressing the loyalty to the emperor they fully expressed their support to the Mahar Vatan Bill.

On 16 – 12 – 28 a meeting of the Vatan holding Mahars was called at Satara. It was presided over by Bhiva Tulaji Dhale. After expressing loyalty to the emperor the support was accorded to the Mahar Vatan Bill. They gave full support to the evidence that Dr. Ambedkar gave before the Simon Commission. In the meeting a resolution of requesting voters to vote for Vishnu Ravaji Kamble who is contesting a seat in the ensuing Satara Municipality Election.

On 1 – 1 – 29 Barr. J. B. Patel of Bombay visited the saint Chokha reading room at Dehu. About 300 people attend the meeting there called under his chairmanship. Barr. Patel advised the people to establish youth organization to start debating and health club. He advised the untouchables that they without depending upon the touchables help should resort to the course of self-help which is the only way of their progress.

On the same day at Dehu there was arranged the prize distribution programme of primary school students under the chairmanship of Barr. Patel. The school committee members were present, sweets were distributed among the students and similarly the cloths.

On 14 – 1 – 29 at Vardha on behalf of the Bahishkrit Bharat Seva Sangh (untouchables India service league) a programme of the distribution of Tilgul was arranged under the chairmanship of shri B. R. Pathak (pleader). On this occasion about 500 people from scavengers to Brahmins had collected. Similarly on behalf of untouchable women association also Tilgul and Haldi-Kunku (sweetened sesamum seeds and turmeric and red coloured powder) was also offered to the women of all castes.

On 14 – 1 – 29 at Amravati on behalf of untouchable women under the chairmanship of Mrs. De a women programme called Haldi-Kunku was organized. This is a kind of get together programme for the women on certain auspicious day. Both touchable and untouchable women forgetting their caste had collected together. The madam chairman advised the women that forgetting their caste differences they should make efforts to become one and help the national cause. Then Mrs. Chandrabai Patavardhan traced in her speech the need for ending the caste system in India. Then she asked them to maintain cleanliness and take interest in education.

On 15 – 1 – 29 at Batri (Ahamednagar camp) on account of Tilgul distribution programme there was a public meeting of the Mahars. Shri Sambhaji Malhari Bhingardave Mehtre presided over the meeting. The following resolutions were passed in the meeting. (1) Well wishing of the emperor. (2) The expression of condolence over the death of Lala Lajpat Rai and Rajesaheb of Panagal. (3) Compliments to Dr. Ambedkar and to Dr. Solanki who are struggling to advance the cause of the untouchables. (4 Support to Mahar Vatan Bill and request to the councilors to pass the Bill. (5) Full consent to the evidence given by Dr Ambedkar before the Simon commission. (6) Planning to found a boarding for the students in Ahamednagar District.

Donations:

From the secretary Bharat Bhusan Samaj (society), Chichagar we received the donation of Rs.25 and from shri Govind Baluji Savant we received the donation of Rs.5 for the press fund. We are thankful to them for the donation.

Conference of The Depressed Classes of Madhya Pradesh
(Session Second)

This conference is going to be organized in Nagpur on 24 – 2 – 29 in Vyanktesh Theatre under the chairmanship of the famous leader shri B. C. Madal to discuss about the Nehru Committee Report and to set a committee to enquire into the condition of the untouchables.

Death of Shrimati Ratibai Puranic

It is painful for us to inform that shrimati Ratibai Puranic a social worker from among the untouchables in Madhya Pradesh died at Nargavandi, Madhya Pradesh, on 12 – 1 – 29. Though the lady was not well educated she had the habit of reading books and other literature. She was a social worker of serious nature. It was she who was responsible for the women's conference at Vardha that was organized last time. She propagated the news paper literature like the Bahishkrit Bharat, Brahmanetar, Vijayi Maratha etc. among the women particularly the women of untouchable community. The credit of Jamulal Bajaj opening his Laxmi Narayan temple for the untouchables goes to this lady to some extent. She became widow in 1911 at a young age and since then she devoted her whole time in the service of the untouchable women. She was only 30 year old when she died. Her death has caused a great loss to the untouchable community. May her soul rest in peace.

Ganesh Chintaman Sadhu

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT
(Untouchable India)

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Editor & Publisher
Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
Bar- at-Law, Rahim Building,
Poybawadi, Parel, Mumbai

I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden, now Parth be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 2nd] Friday, Dated 1st Mar. 1929 [issue7th

Peoples Representatives In Bombay Municipality

A few days back the representatives of the various wards in Bombay Municipality were elected. Those who pay Rs.10/- or more as house rent have been now given the right to vote and hence many people are now discussing largely regarding the duties of the elected representatives in the municipal body. Really speaking if the poor and the middle class people should take more interest in municipal administration than the rich people. The middle class men and the poor people have much more concern with the municipal administration. Cleanliness, health problems, medical facility, water supply, primary education, planning of the house, public play grounds and gardens etc. come under the jurisdiction of the municipality. Rich people do not depend upon the municipality for these facilities much. The rich people staying in Malbar Hill, Khambala Hill, Pedar road etc have their own big bungalows in which they have all the above mentioned facilities of their own. They are capable to spend required amount of money for the education of their children, for the health facility of their family members and games facility of their children. These facilities if made available are utilized by the middle class men and the poor people. It is not possible for these people to produce these facilities on their own. Hence it is necessary that the municipality must make the provision of above mentioned facilities to be used largely by the middle classes and the poor people. Hence the representatives even if some of them are not poor should try to understand the problems of the poor in the municipal corporation and tilt the balance of their thinking to the side of the people mentioned above.

Quality of The Candidate And The Votes of The Voters

The candidates who contest the seats try their best to secure the votes. Now days the candidates of ordinary condition are finding it difficult to get elected in Bombay Municipal Corporation as for securing the votes one has to spend much money. The rich men are ready to purchase the votes. If somebody does not want to purchase votes he has to invariably spend money on method of propaganda and vote catching and there is no option to it. Therefore, it is not necessary that the elected member should be able. There are almost no political parties in Bombay municipal politics. For want of parties, politics, programmes, public meetings, public assurances the voters are not properly educated in the duties of the citizens, their duties, rights and responsibilities. This way by misguiding the voters any kind of candidates get elected. There are many such members in the corporation who always get elected and rarely attend the meetings. If at all they attend the meetings they never open their mouth.

Caste Politics

Many members get elected due to the voter's strength of their own caste men. If the voter's strength of the candidate's caste men is small it is not possible for him to get elected unless he is very popular or collects the votes through his paid agents. The Voters are generally tended to vote for their own caste candidate. To have a candidate of one's own caste men in the municipal body is a matter of pride for the candidate's caste men. Because of the caste pride voters rarely think about the quality and the qualification of the candidates. The candidates who use caste in the election politics always get more votes than the liberal minded candidates. On the question whether there should be separate provision for drinking water for the untouchable students in the schools or it should be the same provision for both the touchable students and the untouchable students there was a very hot discussion in the meeting of the municipal body. Among the members there was a wide gulf of difference in their opinion. The effect of this hot discussion was shown in the last municipal election in many wards. The problems of drinking water in the schools created much uneasiness particularly among the Guajaratis. Shri Laxmidas Tersi is a liberal minded reformer among the Gujaratis. He supported the cause of untouchable students in matter of drinking water in the schools. The result was that he was defeated in the municipal election. Dr Javale is a man of pro-government party but he supported the politics of conservative party in the corporation politics and hence the conservative Brahmans voted for him in the Dadar-Bombay and he got elected. Another member shri Sahasrabudhe opposed the reform and hence the members of the extremist groups supported him and he got elected. These shows how even the well educated men behave while voting in the election.

Successful Candidates of Hindus, Musalmans and Parsis

In Bombay the Muslim population is 16 percent but out of 76 they got 14 seats which means they got 18 percent of the seats. The Parsis are 7 percent in total population but they got 18 seats which means they got 24 percent of the seats.

Condition of The Untouchables

So long as the caste condition continues it is not possible for the candidate of the untouchable to get elected for any board in the Bombay Municipality. One thing is that those who pay Rs.10 or more as house rent alone are the voters. Therefore the voters from the untouchables are very few even though their population is quite large. The number of poor people is very large among the untouchables and hence there may be hardly one in one thousand who is able to pay Rs.10 as house rent. Moreover their locality is not in one or two places, they are scattered at different places. In addition to this among the voters of the untouchables illiteracy and ignorance adds to their lack of understanding. They vote for anybody without considering the interest of the community. Under such circumstances the candidates interested in the problems of the untouchables cannot be elected. Hence we have to remain satisfied on the members nominated by the government. At present a problem of producing an electoral college of the workers to elect four representatives of the workers is under consideration. It will be better if this kind of system is applied to the untouchables also to get their representatives elected. At present there is a system that the wards where rich people stay there the voters are given the power to send more members elected to the municipal body. This system is against the principle of democracy. The present system of right to vote is defective. Instead of the condition of 10 Rs. rents paying if the right to vote is broadened the strength of the voters will be increased. If the system of adult franchise is adopted irrespective of any other conditions this will help broaden the base of democracy.

Incidental Thoughts

1. Riots In Bombay City.

The stigma of Hindu Muslim riots was not attached to the city of Bombay for a long time. There were such riots in other places but in Bombay both the communities lived in peace and harmony. But in the second week of February unknowingly the fire of riots was kindled between the Hindus and Muslims. At Shivadi the workers of Oil Company went on strike but the authorities by appointing the Pathans tried to break the strike. Therefore, there took place a beating between Hindu strikers on one hand and the Pathans on the other hand. Meanwhile there spread news in Grant-road Bhendi Bazar area that Pathans kidnap the children. The people, therefore, started attacking the Pathans at various places in Bombay. In some areas some Pathans were killed even. Wherever the Pathan was found he was attacked. When these atrocious events against the Pathans continued naturally the Muslims their, religious compatriots came to their rescue. This resulted into quarreling, fighting, arsoning and looting in Bombay and almost 150 people lost their lives and many were seriously injured. One good thing was that both Hindus and Muslims protected their neighbourers irrespective of their religion otherwise many more people would have died. The Gundas-hooligans took the advantage of the situation and killed many people whereas honest people by feeling anguished felt very much remorsed as it was a blow to the relation of brotherhood.

2. Untouchables who protected The Hindu Temples

Untouchables have no equal rights in Hindu society. Not only is this but the Hindus treated the people of other religions well whereas they treat the untouchables as mean. The Muslims can go into the premises of the Hindu temples but the untouchables find it difficult to go near the temples. The question of untouchables going near the deity is their distant dream. What happened in the Hindu Muslim riots in Bombay was that since untouchables were regarded as Hindus they too fell prey to the wrath of the Muslims. The untouchables took lathis in their hands and came forward to protect the Hindu temples thinking merely that Hindu religion is their ancestral religion. This happened in the areas like Byculla in Bombay. The workers of Hindu organization have praised the bravery of the untouchables in protecting the Hindu temples in Bombay. But in normal time Hindus will never praise any good quality of the untouchables and they will never allow the untouchables to go near the image of the deity. Hindus always think that the untouchables should not embrace any other religion leaving Hinduism and they should stay in Hinduism where they are but in no condition they should demand equal rights with the high caste Hindus. During the time of riot the Hindus allowed the untouchables to enter the Hotels in Bombay much unwillingly but as soon as the situation became calm the things returned back to normal situation and the hotels were again closed for the untouchables as usual. There is a saying that "let the physician die as soon as patients' need is over."

3. Movement of Self-Respect League

On 17th February at Chigalput in Madras Presidency the conference of "Self-Respect League," was organized. For this conference there attended the Madras Governments law member D. B. Krishnan Nair, chief secretary Dr. Subarayan, health secretary Mr. Muthia Mudliar, Mr. P. T. Rajan, Mr. Ramswami Nayakar etc. The flag was hoisted by Mr. Rajan. Mr. Rajan declared that the aim of this conference is to remove the social injustice. While inaugurating the activities of the conference Dr. Subarayan said that without social self-respect the political self-respect is not possible. From a caste ridden society the creation of democratic society is not possible. This movement for self-respect is nothing but the movement for social equality. The self-respect does not mean self-ego, not the tendancy to underestimate others. Self-respect is a holy feeling. We are human beings; we have the right to have all our human rights, no body aginst any right to deprive our human rights, all have the right to make efforts for their progress, and this feeling is called as the feeling of self-respect. A man with sense of sel-respect takes care of others sense of self-respect. Because he knows the value of self-respect. Self-respect in the behaviour of Hindu society is not noticed. It is because of this one caste under estimates other caste and the castes called as upper castes take pride in doing so. To remove this false pride there is a need of movements like "self-respect league, social equality league, caste eradicating league etc."

4. Madras Conference for Eradication of untouchability

Just before some days the summoning of self-respect league was organized at Madras the second conference of "Eradication of Untouchability." Miss Jyotirma Ganguli of Calcutta presided over the conference. She belonged to Tagor family and is a supporter of liberal views. The president of Madras Municipal Corporation hoisted untouchability eradication flag. After this madam chairman gave a brilliant speech on the removal of untouchability. She said that the practice of untouchability is a paralytic attack on the personality of Indian nation. This disease is taking Indian nation towards its disaster. Really speaking the untouchability has mixed poison in the social, moral and philosophical life of India. For the good of the Indian nation the practice of untouchability must be done away with at the earliest.

In the meeting many resolutions were passed but the important among them were those which condemned the tendency of not allowing the untouchables to enjoy the equal rights as citizens along with caste Hindus and prohibiting them to use the public places and the institutions. Leaders like Shrinivas Ayangar, who always sing the song of political freedom, did not turn to the conference.

5. Shri Sakat's Equality Organisation

The news paper 'Bhala' has reported that shri K. K. Sakat has founded an organization called "Equality Organisation of the untouchables." shri Sakat has declared that the aim of the organization is to abolish all sub-castes like Mahar, Mang, Dhore, Chambhar, Bhangi (scavenger) etc. among the untouchables and to bring about among them the inter-caste marriages and inter-dinning. In other words establishing social equality is the aim of his organization. It is important that this news has appeared in the paper "Bhala" (spear) which always justifies the caste system. While blessing the efforts the paper Bhala as per its usual policy has also not failed in forecasting the future of the organization. The editor says that there is no question of inter-caste marriages among the sub-castes of the untouchable communities, even to remove the ban on inter-caste dinning among the sub-caste of the untouchables they will have to wait for another seven generations. It is shri Sakat who should decide whether it is the editor's blessing or curse to his newly founded organization. If the meaning of it is not understandable to shri Sakat he should ask about it to his teacher (shri Mate). While forecasting shri Bhalakar has exhibited his usual and original tendency. The tendency is that he sincerely feels that the sub-castes among the untouchables should not end for the time immemorial. Bhalakar knows that the untouchable communities are illiterate, poor, ignorant, tradition minded and hence while breaking the old traditions there will be quarrels among them. Equality among the sub-castes of the untouchables is a big problem as big as the problem between the untouchables and the caste Hindus. And this will be an advantegious to the caste minded caste Hindus. Then the caste Hindus will point out to the untouchables to their own broken house and a divided society. This is perhaps the view of the editor of Bhala and hence he is performing his pleasant duty of forecasting the future of Sakat's newly founded organization. Bhalakar must know that when the Mahar or Chambhar will not regard the scavenger as lower than they how will they regard the Brahmin as superior? Already there are quarrels among the untouchables it is likely that Sakat's organization will add fuel to the fire. This happens because of the illiteracy and ignorance among the untouchables. Then the caste Hindus taking advantage of this situation argue that when there is no equality among the sub-castes of the untouchables why should they demand equality treatment for them from the caste Hindus? If the problem of inequality would have been solved with help of intelligence only this question would have been solved long back. This problem can be solved only by using the method of tit for tat. Unless the untouchables are prepared to block the path of caste Hindu's advancement there is no other way that the eclipse in the life of the untouchables can be over.

Dacoits Religions Pride

In the District Bijnora at a place called Devagad there was a marriage procession of an untouchable party on 9th February and the procession was opposed by the high caste Hindus. It was not an opposition of ordinary nature. The people in the procession were not only attacked and beaten by the caste Hindus but their belonging were robbed and looted. It is said that when this event took place a village officer called Patvari was there. But the local officers have not at all taken cognizance of the event yet. At present this incident has been taken up for investigation by Shradhanand's Anti-untouchability Sabha (organization of Delhi). It is understood that the secretary of the Sabha has enquired from the collector of Bijnora by sending wire about the event. The Shradhanand Sabha had sent its representative to Devagad to enquire the matter personally. We are told that his report has stated that whatever that was told earlier is a matter of fact. It is the ancient cult of the high caste Hindus to oppose the marriage procession of the untouchables. The untouchables' marriage procession openly insults the high caste Hindus is the feeling of the caste Hindus. But the caste Hindus never dare to oppose the marriage procession of the people of other religions. Not only has this but the Hindus derived pleasure in playing music in such marriage processions. In what way the marriage procession of the untouchables insults Hindus and their religion is not understandable.The road on which the untouchables walk in 5 or in 10 in number many times if the same road is used for the marriage procession, how does it humiliate the Hindus is not understandable. It only means that the caste Hindus feel it as a pinch when the untouchables are in a gay and happy mood in their presence. Perhaps the Hindus feel that the marriage procession of the untouchables is as if their funeral procession of their ancient religion. This was an opportunity for the Hindu hooligans to loot the poor people of their belongings. When such events take place the Hindu preceptors never fail in giving the sermons of peace to the untouchable community.

Public Notice

Applications are invited for admission to the Boarding run by the "All India Depressed Classes Association of Educational Progress," at Panvel from the students who have passed their fourth standard school examination. After admission of students coming from the poor families of the untouchable communities to the Boarding they will be admitted to the English schools at Panvel. The desirous should send postal ticket of 2 Annas and get the form from the office. Their form must reach the office before 1 – 3 – 29.

Address:

General Secretary, The Association of
Educational progress of untouchable
Communities, Damodar Hall,
Parel, Mumbai 12.

Collection of Various Subjects

Progress of untouchables And Orthodox Members of Hindu Mahasabha

Author: A Liberal thinker

There are no two opinions that so long as the caste system and the untouchability are not destroyed the Ghost working against Hinduism cannot be killed. Unless the equality is established among all the Hindus it is difficult to face attacks on Hinduism. Similarly it is also clear that no political reform is successful unless the reform of our society is attained.

Even though this is crystal clear yet the people in general are not still very much serious about this issue. Our leaders also without giving much serious thought to this problem only superficially sometimes touch this problem. There is no sincerity in their thought and action over this problem.

Mahatma Gandhi and some Arya Samaj workers in Punjab are the only people who attend to the problem of untouchables both by thought and action. It is unfortunate that other leaders, many among them are extremists in their political views, are quite negligent about the work of social reform. Not only this but many times they go against the social reform in their thought and action. This is the most unfortunate situation in India.

The anti-untouchability work which goes seriously in Punjab the same seriousness is not seen elsewhere about it. This work in Maharashtra unfortunately is very much disappointing. The people of other provinces blame the people of Maharashtra that they are merely the big talkers. This is particularly noticed in matters of social reform in Maharashtra.

In Maharashtra there are two parties that pay their attention towards the progress of untouchables. One party is represented by supporters of the social equality party and the others are the members of the Hindu Maha Sabha. Here the efforts are made to analyse the views and work of the members of the Hindu Maha Sabha.

The members of the Hindu Maha Sabha think that the untouchables should not quit Hinduism and they make efforts towards that end. But the untouchables by remaining in Hinduism should demand equal rights with high caste Hindus is not their creed. Remaining with Hindus is itself an advantegious to the untouchables and hence other things enjoyed by the caste Hindus are not necessary for them. If untouchables break away from the Hindus and Hinduism it harm both the Hindus and Hinduism and hence the untouchables should remain in Hinduism is their view. Today Hindus fear that the people of other religions may attack Hinduism. But once this fear is over the Hindus will care a little for the untouchables. Today it is likely that the citadel of Hinduism may be attacked by the followers of other religions and hence to protect the citadel of Hinduism the Hindus need the gate keepers of the fort. If the untouchables leave Hinduism the strength of the Hindus will be reduced and the Hindu will find it difficult to protect themselves from the attack of the people of other religions. They know this very well. Hindus in order to live on the prestige of Hindu religion they need people like untouchables who are prepared to die even in protection of Hindu religion. The Hindus must live in the name of Hindu religion and the untouchables must be prepared to die for the sake of Hindu religion is the principle of division of labour according to the Hindu thinkers. They are much ahead in consuming the things produced by other's labour where as the untouchables should be there to pull the loaded tonga wearing bridle in their neck is the idea of their thinking. According to the fundamental principle of Hindus' Varna-Ashram Dharma the shudras and the untouchables have their place in the feet of the Brahmadeva (God Brahma). These classes are like the shoes of the Brahmadeva. As long as there is a need of these shoes maintain them well by policing and repairing but once their need is over keep them somewhere in the corner to use whenever there is a need otherwise throw them off. This is the policy of the caste Hindus towards untouchables. In the speeches of the Caste Hindu leaders there is neither love, nor urge nor sympathy for the progress of untouchables. But they hide the real intension in their speeches. Talk something say something and speak something that will please these innocent people is generally the design of these leaders.

The untouchables must carry on their hereditary professions is their teaching to the untouchables. Chambhar (leather worker) must prepare the foot wears only, the cloth maker must make cloths only etc. is their view. As opposed to this the caste Hindus will send their children for higher education to foreign countries and ofter returning back they will accupy the positions of prestige in the government services. But their advice to the untouchables is stay there only where you are and do what you were doing and make progress whatever is possible there only.

Whether it is touchable or untouchable no body will say that by taking merely the bookish knowledge he should do his job. The well educated graduates are coming out in hundreds every year. The position of graduate in job seeking areas, therefore, has come down. Therefore who will say that this unproductive education should be given to the young people without much consideration? Now a day some educational facilities are given to the untouchables. In course of time along with touchables their number of educated men may grow making the market of educated men more crowded. To avoid the evil effect of this India needs industrial and other professional education helpful in the field of production.

Though there is some truth in this argument to what extent these people (caste Hindus) are sincere in tendering this advice to the untouchables and such others. As in their other advice there is their selfish motive similarly in this advice also there is their some hidden interest goes without any doubt. If everybody does only his ancestoral profession naturally the whole area of jobs will remain open only to these high caste men. If everybody has to do the profession of his ancestors then why should the Brahmans take up the jobs in the government? Why not do the job of priests? Perform rituals and take the fee (Daksina) is the ancestral job of the Brahmanas. Why should the Brahmanas violate this rule? In short there is no urge in their intension nor there any consistency in their action and thinking.

It is true that instead of running after the jobs attention must also be paid to our own home industries. However if the interest is to be taken in jobs and services these should be open to all equally well. Whether it is the jobs or any industrial or production work the equal opportunity must be given to everybody. Everybody as per his favourable circumstances should choose the field of work conductive to his progress.

The Hindu religious leaders had built up a buiding of four rooms and everybody was allowed to stay in any room of his choice and he was also allowed to change the rooms whenever he thought of it. But in course of time some selfish people converted these four rooms into many rooms. These rooms became water light compartments. Once born in a room must die in that room only. This has polluted the society and made the social life unhealthy. This should become like the European society where son of leather worker can rise to the position of power.

If we look at the organization of Hindu society we find that many injustices are done to the untouchable communities. Untouchables can free themselves if they convert to other religion but this course of action is not proper. By conversion at the most an individual can free himself not the whole society. Hence the conversion is a kind of betrayal and ill advised course of action. Fighting bravely against the injustice is most proper course for the untouchables to adopt against their grievances. Claiming equal rights only through the struggle are the heroic course of action that will immortalize the brave fighters. As self elevation is the right of every Indian it is also the right of the untouchables. History is for the first time hearing their call for their rights. May the untouchables immortalize themselves for their war in favour of human rights.

Two Appreciating Inter-Caste Marriages

There are two inter-caste marriages that took place in this month. Shri Pralhad Keshav Atre, B.A; B.T.TD married miss Godubai Ramrao Mungi B.A; B.T and the marriage ceremony took place at Pune. Shri Atre is a Brahman by caste. Poet Keshav Kumar is the nick name by which he is famous in the literacy world. He is famous for his satirical poems in Marathi language. At present he is the head master in a high school at Pune. Shrimati Godubai is a Vaisya by caste and she is also working as a high school teacher at Pune in a girl's high school. Both are well educated and self-supporting and as such this marriage is an ideal one. We have got the news of second inter-caste marriage from Lucknow. This marriage is of more revolutionary nature than the first one. Here a widow of a Brahmin caste who has married a person from the Chambhar caste this is an untouchable caste. We have not got yet the more details about this marriage. This marriage though from social point of view a revolutionary in type it may prove to be somewhat troublesome for the couple. We congratulate these two couples very heartily.

Letters Of Lokhitwadi

Letter No. 32

Bribe

At present India is ruled by English people. These people are generally better than Indians in intelligence, learning, information, knowledge and are less deceitful. There are also some 5 percent people who are not good men. Those who are good men cannot do all the work needed in the public service. Unless there are good men working under him the good work cannot be done. Even though our people here are deceitful the British people have to keep them in service out of necessity. These peole are very bad and hence the reliability on them is very less. There is no doubt that Hindus practice bribery. In the company government non-corrupt may be one in one thousand, and rarely we find a man who is god fearing. Rest from the poen to the high officers almost all are corrupt. They do the prostituting of their oath that they take while joining the service. The reason why they behave like this is that they have no knowledge and no religion. Another reason is this is so because that the English people fail to test them before they are selected for appointment. Therefore, the appointment of proper man for proper position is not done. Even though the Hindus are foolish people if proper test is conducted the government will definitely find some good and god fearing men. But the appointments are made without examining them seriously therefore many non-qualified men are appointed even on big posts. I asked a question to a shastri (judge) whether bribery is good or bad. He immediately replied that taking bribery is the religion of the judges. He is a man who is not afraid of god, will not worry of any law while practicing bribary. Hindu shastra does not prevent taking bribe it is only the law that prevents it. But the way of evading law is very simple. The man who is not worried about the god why should he worry about the law. So long as Hindus do not feel that taking bribe is wrong the practice will not be stopped. Even though the English people try their best to stop the practice of bribary by the Indians the Indians keeping the English administrators in dark do their business as usual. The man who works as a civil judge spends the whole amount of his salary every month and keeps the same amount of money as his saving in every month. Same is the case with head clerk and clerk who repeat the same thing which is done by the civil judge and others. Similarly the peons earn double the amount of their salary every month. The officers like the collectors and such others remain helpless before them. If anybody complains against any officer he is punished by detaining him in the office. In this way the justice is being done in the offices under the British rule in India. The people in the offices have no shame, making money is the only business that they do in the offices. They take no pity on Rayats, they are shameless, they never think of god or heaven. Only remedy on this is that the care should be taken of the quality of the man while making appointments. The people of non-corrupt nature well educated English knowing intelligent men should be appointed in the administration. The British officers are in a way helpless. From peon to his own deputy are all Indians and he has to depend upon them. When the application comes before him in vernacular language he has to depend upon his deputy for executiving the civil and revenue matters, his assisting staff does that work. But when these assisting staff members are mischievous element what can the sahib do? In fact many of these must lead a life in jail but it rarely happens. The men retired from the government services argue that some of them have served for 30 years, some have served for 40 years, some have served for 35 years etc. but the government does not care for these services much. They forget to remember that how honestly they did that public service? Did they do good to anybody? They deceived the government, they deceived the Rayats and others; did they render any good service to anybody? Hindus are intelligent because of their demerits they have earned a bad name. An honest man whether he has money or no money he never looses his prestige. The man who gives bribe is also equally a foolish man. English people are much shrewd, they say that if they are eating among themselves let them eat. We have nothing to loose. The people in India generally praise English people and blame the Indians. But now things will change as the Indians are also receiving English education and coming up to compete with the English people.

Self-Introduction

Schools and Untouchable Students

Below mentioned reporting has been done by the Directror of Information: - while there is an order that the untouchable students should not be prevented from entering the schools there are many schools where their entry has been prevented. Some years back an order was passed that those schools that accept government grants must admit untouchable students without any excuse. If any school prevents untouchable students from entering the school. Such schools grants should be stopped by the government. Those schools which are functioning in their own building or in rented buildings those should not prohibit these boys.

In Bombay area there is one school in Thane District and 18 schools in Ratnagiri where untouchable boys are not allowed to enter. Here boys are not allowed because some schools are run in caravanserais and in temples. In some areas untouchables have separate schools there the touchables do not allow them to come to the schools meant for the touchables.

In the middle zone there are 8 schools where the untouchable boys are not allowed to enter. There are 7 schools in Ahmednagar and one in East Khandesh districts. Here some schools are conducted in rented buildings and some are conducted in temples. The owners of the buildings prevent the untouchable boys from coming to these schools.

In northern zone this kind of preventive attitude among the Hindus is not found out except in Surat. In Surat also where the schools are conducted in temples and caravanserais there only the Hindus object untouchable boys to come to these schools. Since the earning of the livelihood of the untouchables depends upon the touchables they are worried about the caste Hindu hoslility. Some untouchable' parents withdrew their children from the schools.

In southern region and in Sindh such examples are not noticed anywhere so far.

Solapur District Mahar Vatan Conference – Fourth

It has been decided that in the coming month of May this conference of Solapur district Mahar Vatan should be organizing at Kurduwadi, Taluka Madha, and District Solapur. Hence the interested members in the district should send their donation etc. on the address given below. If anybody wishes to make any suggestion he should also do so. The name of the president and the date of the conference will be declared later on.

Adderss: - Shahu Kondi Gaikwad
Secretary At post – Kurduwadi, Tal. Madha

Yours Sincerely,

1 Makaji mahadu Jagtap
2 Baburao Gyanba Jagtap
3 Nivruti Dhondiba Jagtap
4 Chimanaji Khanderao Jagtap
5 Ramchandra Baburao Jagtap

Public Meetings, Programmes, Gadherings etc.

On wedensday dated 20th February 29 on behalf of Bahishkrit Bharat service league there was a public meeting at Vardha under the chairmanship of shri L. K. Ogale, M.L.C. It was organized by the untouchable class called "pule failat." The following resolutions were passed in the meeting.

Jamulal Bajaj a famous patriot threw open his Laxmi Narayan temple to the untouchables similarly shri Shridhar Paranjape Hanumangad, Vardha, threw open his own well for the untouchables. Both were congratulated in the meeting.

News from Mahad

(From The Reporter)

From the month of August last due to the inspiration derived from Dr. Ambedkar Saheb there had started a Boarding for the untouchable students under the leadership of Jamadar Kudavalkar. At present 10 students who have passed 4th standard vernacular examination stay there for further education. The entire expences of the boarding is borne by Jamadar Vishram Gangaram Savadkar. The untouchables are extremely thankful to him. At present for want of financial provision a small number of students stay there but if additional help comes from any helping hand more students can be admitted to the boarding. At present shri Jamadar Savadkar single handedly run the boarding, it should be clarified whether the same number of students should be maintained or it should be increased to make the boarding the public property. The collector sahib of Kolaba shri Krupalani was to visit the boarding shri Surbha Tipanis had made all the arrangement of welcoiming him but due to other urgent programme he did not attend. Shri Potnis and shri Vishnupant Deshpande these two prominent touchable members were present.

On 25 – 1 – 29 at Bhor under the chairmanship of shri Damodar Balkrishna Potnis, a member of Bhor council, on behalf of the Mahars of Mahad and Managao Taluka meeting was summoned at Bombay. The president of social work league shri Bhikaji Sambhaji Gaikwad presided over the meeting. In the meeting the condolence was expressed over the death of Lala-Lajpat Rai and the Maharaja of Panagal. Shri Surbha Tipanis, Shantaram Potnis and Kudvalkar spoke in the meeting. Shri Gaikwad had devoted his whole life to the cause of the upliftment of the untouchables and hence a huge gathering had collected for the condolence meeting and many spoke about his urge for social work.

From the days of the last year's Satyagraha conference many merchants and traders at Mahad had become ememical with the untouchables. Mahars used to face difficulties in getting the consumer's goods from the touchable shops. A Mahar person named Gowilkar to overcome this difficulty has opened the shop in the market by the side of the touchable shops. Shri Chintaman Deshpande courageously came forward and rendered his services to the Mahar shop owner. This shop has been opened from 1st Jan. 1929. In addition to this two tea stalls and a tailoring firm have also been opened in the main market. Some conservative people are helplessly shouting against this adventure.

Committee for Untouchables' Progress, Indore

Three monthly second report

The first three monthly report of this committee had already been made known by publishing it in the news papers. The second three mothly report of the meeting has done the work of spreading the message "know thyself," to all the untouchable localities and the untouchables have been made aware that they have every right to demand for social equality.

The general secretary of "social equality league," Dadar Bombay shri B. V. Pradhan, BA; LLB had come here during Natal time along with his friends and he expressed full satisfaction over the work that is going on here and gave Rs.10 as donation to the boarding run by the Depressed classes league.

On 14 – 1 – 29 in the cantonment area of Indore there was organized the public meeting of both men and women. Shrimati Radhabai Inamdar, Mrs. Ambubai Pandit and shri M. K. Karnik B.A made their speeches. After that Tilgul distribution was done. The similar public meetings were organized at 10 to 12 different places. These meetings help the untouchable communities in forming the unity among them. In such meeting a donation box is kept and the money collected thus is deposited in the Bank and spent particularly on the education purpose of the poor children among the untouchables.

The programme of eating together organized on 17- 2 -29 is the important work in the three monthly report. Eating together is such a programme which works against the birth based social inequality and the practice of touchability-untouchability. This kind of programme is important as base for establishing social equality. Just before the eating programme the vice- president Hindu Maha Sabha shri Dravid vakil sahib, shri Sarvate, president young men association Hindu Sabha, shri Lokhande, shri Sukh Sampatiray Bhandari, made their speeches. In the meeting the workers of the Hindu Maha Sabha assured that they will give necessary help for the functioning of the Night High School. The Sabha expressed its gratitude for the help they assured to run the night high school here.

The below mentioned people parcipated in the programme of inter-dinning:

(1)Shri Sarvate, president, young men Hindu association; (2) shri Pandit; (3) shri G. L. Karnik, B.A. (4) Shri J.Y. Gupte, B.A. (5) shri D. K. Karnik, (6) shri D. R. Gadkari; (7) shri N. R. Bhise; (8) shri P. A. Gavade (shepherd) (9) shri Lokhande (10)

shri Kamble (11) shri Gaikwad etc. In addition to these members there were also many members belonging to Mahar and Chambhar caste from Mahu and Indore who participated the inter-dinning programme.

After the eating programme was over shri Sarvate introduced his young Hindu Sabha (association). This association is running the night school for the untouchable boys and girls.

At Mahispur, Indore princely state, on 10th and 11th March, 1929 the untouchable's conference of central India is going to meet. Shri Karnik M. K. the chairman of Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha, Mahu Branch, is going to preside over the conference. We hope that with the co-operation and the help of the people and the princely state government the conference will be successful.

Yours sincerely,

Shri J. B. Gupte secretary,
Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha, Indore.

The Conference of Vatan Holding Mahars of Bombay Presidency

The riots that took place recently in Bombay have disturbed the normalcy in the life of Bombay city. Therefore, due to the unavoidable situation the conference was post-poned to the next date. Now the conference will meet on 27, 28 and 29 April 1929. The name of the president will be announced later on declares the secretary.

Hindu Mahasabha Is A fraud

Matunga (Bombay) branch of Hindu Maha Sabha celebrated Dasnavami (a minor Hindu festival) on the ground behind the Mang Garudi (one of the untouchable caste) Ashram (asylum). There the workers like Dr. Suratkar, Dr. Udgaonkar etc. were present. After these people spoke on the occasion shri Keshavrao Sakate, a Mang by caste, spoke the following. Hindu Sabha in the name of Hinduism is playing a deceiving game of hide and seek with the untouchables. They have opened an asylum for Brahmin widows at Matunga (Bombay). There are only Brahmin widows and no untouchable widow is admitted there except one or two for the sake of making show. Dr. Ambedkar sahib awoke the untouchables and made them conscious of their rights, he gave a clarion call of Satyagraha to the untouchables at Mahad and made it successful, and by promoting through equality league the inter-dinning and inter-caste marriages he showed the path of brotherhood and Hindu unity to his country men. Have the workers of Hindu Sabha done anything of this kind? In truth the Hindu Sabha is an organization of deceivers and the snake-charmers. Saint Tukaram has said that the "talking is easy but doing is difficult."

Belgaum District Depressed Classes Social Conference

Meeting First

This conference is going to meet on 23rd March, 1929 at Belgaum. Shri Shitaram Namdeo Shivatarkar, Bombay will preside over the conference. On this occasion our learned Jewel Dr. Ambedkar, MLC, Bar-At-Law and Dr. Solanki MLC will remain present. The committee members enquiring about the progress of the untouchables will specially remain present on this occasion.

We therefore, request earnestly to all to remain present on this occasion.

Yours sincerely,
D. R. Ingle, Chairman.

Belgaum District Vatan Holding Mahar Conference

At Ankli, Tal.Chikodi, the District conference of depressed classes is going to meet on 25th and 26th March 1929 under the chairmanship of shri Shitaram Shivatarkar. On both the days the famous leader of the depressed classes Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is going to remain present.

Huge Public Meeting

On 27 – 1 – 29 on behalf of "The Young Men Depressed Classes Association," a huge public meeting on B.D.D. chawl ground under the chairmanship of shri Nivrutinath Tulsiram Jadhav was organized.

Resolutions Passed In The Meeting Were:

1 Those who are financially able should register their names as subscriber for the papers "Bahishkrit Bharat and Samata (equality)."

2 support to the Mahar Vatan bill and congratulation to its architect Dr. Ambedkar.

3 A request to everybody to help Bharat Bhusan Press fund as per his financial ability.

4 A request to make Rs.4 as the rent of Development chawl.

5 A request to Municipal commissioner and other officers for giving jobs to the untouchable candidates in the Municipal offices.

6 Young men Associatios are requested to join Bahishkrit Bharat social service league.

7 All the students of depressed classes are given freeship by the Gokhale Education Society High School. We are thankful to the management of the school for this liberal help.

8 during strike period the workers of the untouchable communities also were not present. Even then they were treated sympathetically in case of rent. We thank the land manager Thakur Saheb for this leniency.

Donations To The Education Society Panvel

At Suparibag Road Poyabawadi, Bombay a betrothal ceremony took place and Rs.10 were donated from the share of the elders (Panch) to the above mentioned educational society of Panvel. At Mahim there took place a remarriage Rs.5 were given as donation to the society mentions above. And on the occasion of birth day of the daughter of Sakharam Ratnaji Nagavankar Rs.1 was given as donation to the same association. In all Rs.21 were donated to the Panvel society and the management of the society acknowledge the donation with gratitude.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT
(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
Editor & Publisher
Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
Bar- at-Law, Rahim Building,
Poybawadi, Parel, Mumbai

I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden, now Parth be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 2nd] Friday, Dated 15th Mar. 1929 [issue 8 th

Notification to Hinduism

Five thousand Mahars of Jalgaon and the villages nearby have issued a notice to Hinduism under the signature of some leaders and it is hoped that caste Hindu leaders will take a serious view of it. Tired of discriminating inequality, injustice, tyranny and harassment many untouchables have left Hinduism and embraced other religions. Among the non-Brahmins when there will be educational progress, progress in their thinking power and growth in their sense of self-respect there will grow the dissatisfaction against the society which is based on social inequality and injustice. It is, therefore quite natural that the religion which deprives the equality rights of some human groups within it and reduces that human group to the condition of beasts and serfs the sufferers are bound to sooner or later develop hatred towards that religion. An injustice which has continued for hundreds of years by supporting it by political, social and religious sanctions does not mean that the sufferers have accepted that they have only helplessly tolerated it. They have suffered it due to the want of leader, knowledge and organization. Those who supported the system or post poned it by citing it as a problem of ancient past are the men who declare it to the world that they do not care for man's instice to man.

Hindus who drove the untouchables out of human habitat to live in segregation from the time immemorial and made them suffer the life of lappers with no culture, no education, no ordinary civic rights.

Hindus Have No Right over the Untouchables

Some untouchables are still clung to the Hinduism not because they have their oneness with Hinduism. Why should they be sympathetic to Hinduism? Is it possible that the goats should be sympathetically to wolves? The untouchables have no love lost to Hindu society but they still have some sympathy for Hinduism. The reason why this is so is that the Hinduism is their ancestral religion and they are born and grown in that religion. But this cause is not sufficient enough to keep them in Hinduism. The religion is one thing and the society is another thing. The religious rules and regulations do not create much problem in behavioural aspect of society and social rules do not come much in the way of religion. This is roughly so. But in case of Hinduism there is much nearness between the Hindu religion and the Hindu social system. In case of other religions there is no interference every now and then in social behaviour but it is the speciality of Hindu religion to determine and control the social behaviour of the Hindus. What to eat, how to sleep, how to stand up and walk this kind of things are also stated and regulated in the Dharm Shastras in Hinduism. Man and his relation to god is the basic principle in other religions but Hinduism covers every walk of man's life from dawn to dust. There are no so many social restrictions like the restrictions in Hinduism in other religions. Castes and caste practices are the most heinous social system which regulates life from man's birth to death and is one which is no where found in other religions. And within castes also there is the lowest caste called untouchables which is most degraded and condemned can neither be found in any religion nor in any country on the surface of the earth.

It is this caste system and the untouchability supported and justified by the Hindu religion and practiced by the Hindu society is the real catastrophy in the life of Indian Nation. To end this social system is the only real reform that

India Needs

Notice to Hindu society, hence, would mean the notice to Hindu religion. Whether the so called untouchables should remain in Hinduism or do their expected life attainments by going out of Hindu religion depends much upon whether the reform movement in Hindu Society moves towards the proper direction. This kind of expected reform is not in the hands of the untouchables. If this issue is taken up only by so called high caste Hindus then only it is possible. But this is possible only when these high caste Hindus give up their artificial self-assumed hierarchical position in society. Since high caste Hindus are bent on maintaining their self-assumed high position in society the quarrels are going on among the castes in Hindus. When the untouchables take up the question of conversion the Hindus argue pointing out to Hindu philosophy that the untouchables should not give up such an ancient religion like the Hinduism.

But What Is the Use Of Mere Philosophy?

There is a saying in Sanskrit language that hunger is not subdued by grammar and the thirst is not quenched by poems and this appropriately applies to the philosophy of religion. Now what can be the definition of religion? The religion is one by which both temporal progress and attainment of liberation (Moksa) is possible. Here it must be remembered that the temporal progress of a man comes first and the heavenly attainment comes next in order of preference. The untouchables are put under such restrictions that it is not possible for them to come out of those restrictions. They have no chance to show their worth by coming out of these restrictions. Under these given circumstances the path for salvation both here and in the next world is all meaningless for untouchable communities.

In this world there is going on a struggle for temporal progress and material prosperity everywhere. Who has seen the other world and its gains? Those high caste Hindus who on one hand justify the existence of untouchability and on the other hand ask the untouchables to stay on in Hinduism are hypocrites and their hypocrisy has been sufficiently revealed to the untouchables now.

The theory of religiously fanatic men is that others suffering is their pleasure. The high caste men tolerate their own brothers who while in western countries eat beaf and do all unhindu things. The Hindus when they go to other countries are given warn send off and when they return are given warm welcome without bothering for what they must have eaten and what must have drunk there. When an untouchable is converted to Islam or to Christianity he is treated on par with equality without bothering for the stigma of former untouchability. But when we say that abolish their untouchability while they are in Hinduism then the Hindus say that their shastras do not permit them to do that, it is their ancestral practice and they must stick to that. Hindus set aside such Dharma Shastra injunction without much consideration that go against their interest but whatever the shastras say about the practice of untouchability that is regarded as holy and sacrosanct. In the tussle that is going on between the Hindus and the Muslims and particularly the aggressive movements of the Muslims the Hindus are worried about the reduction in their population strength. The Hindus have, therefore, started their movements like Shuddhi (purification) and Sanghatan (unity).

But These Two Movements Are Big Frauds

Where there are no feelings of holiness for human rights, where there is no wrathfulness for selfishness and injustice, where there is no sense of belonging for human equality and where movements like purity and unity are mere farce there the untouchables regard this high caste Hindu drama as farcical and pretentious. These hypocratic men of Shuddhi and Sanghatan are more dangerous than the orthodox reactionaries. It is they who work against honest struggle of untouchables for their self-help and self-respect. It is these Ghosts of Brahmanism that have spoiled holy movement of Shraddhanandji. It is these who bring about quarrel between the Hindus and the Muslims. It is these people who threaten the untouchables by saying that if they want to leave Hinduism let them go wherever they want to go but these men fail to understand that tired of inhuman treatment at the hands of the caste Hindus the untouchables issue this threat in a remorseful condition.

However we must tell these people that we are not disappointed in mending the ways of the caste Hindus. We will keep our struggle going on until we succeed in forcing the social reform on Hindu society. However it must also be remembered that we are not courageous enough to tell those untouchables not to convert to other religion that are doing that after undergoing much suffering from the Hindus. At Jalgaon 5000 Mahars have decided to convert to other religion. Our suggestion to these brothers in this connection is that if at all they have decided to leave Hinduism then Embrace Islam.

The untouchables are not converting for the sake of Deliverance (Moksa). It is not the question of which religion is better in principles. The eradication of untouchability is the main aim of the conversion. This objective will not be attained by becoming Arya Samajists or Brahmo Samajists or by becoming the Buddhists. Because by this change the untouchables will particularly remain Hindus and the yoke of untouchability tied to the neck of the so called untouchables will remain perpetually so in practical behaviour not only this even by becoming christians also the untouchability of the untouchables will not go completely because of the untouchability is there also in practice among the christians. It is only in Islam there is a power of absorbing all. Islam community has an absolute brotherhood among the followers of Islam. Islamic people run after their religious brothers if they are facing any calamity. It is because of this seven crores of Muslims having proved stronger to 22 crores of Hindus in India. If after untouchables becoming Muslims Hindus try to harm them as fallen men the Hindus will have to face the opposition of the seven crores of the Muslims and the timid Hindus will never prepare themselves to do that. Hindus, thus, will never come on your way to face you. Not only has this that evens Shankaracharya by joining the Khilafat movement prepared himself to go to jail by saying Allah Ho Akbar.

Incidental Thoughts
The Brahmins That Prostrate Before The Simon Commission

When the Simon Commission had gone to visit Madras there a delegation of orthodox Brahmins had gone to meet the commission. The important among the delegates were shrinivas Ayyanagar, shri Satyamurti etc. the supporters of extremist's views in politics. The congress men oppose the social reform in congress movement by following these orthodox Brahmins. It is this Satyamurti group that raised its voice when the non-Brahmin ministry in Madras had passed laws to open temples and Maths for the untouchables. Even today also they stand in opposition to that law. The Madrasi Brahmin is quite expert in giving sermons on politics but the kind of reactionary he is in social matters that kind can rarely be found elsewhere in India. It is because of the views and actions of orthodox Brahmins of Madras the Madras presidency has earned the reputation as benighted province in India. In matters of touchability and untouchability they have produced a systematic religious code which can nowhere be found in India. They have produced almost a systematic code of manual on what should be the distance (in yards) between he touchables and the untouchables while walking from what distance they should look at each other etc. instead of indulging in lofty thinking it is in this kind of mean ideas and behaviour that they have wasted their energy. Instead of doing this had they involved in the progress of science and scientific thinking they would have helped the efforts that are going on to reform the society by law, they would have helped the country in scientific advancement by which country's poverty would have been reduced considerably. At present the efforts are going on to pave the way for social reform by law and this has produced the stomachache for the orthodox Brahmins of Madras. They are thinking that now their dominance in society will suffer and along with them the Hindu religion will also suffer. Shrinivas Ayyanagar, Satyamurti, Sambmurti etc. are the leaders taking part in bycotting the Simon Commission but when Simon Commission reached Madras the orthodox Brahmins there prostrated before the Commission for its favour. When this is so why should the Brahmins blame the non-Brahmins and the untouchables when they come forward to put their say before the Simon Commission? What these orthodox Brahmins after meeting the Commission told was that in the legislatures of the country there should not have any freedom to enact law in matters of religion. In their view whether there should be Swarajya or no Swarajya, whether there should be new constitution or no constitution their Brahmanism must remain untouched. The laws that have been enacted so far are there any which have attacked the religion? But they always shout that the government should not interfere in religious laws and customs. The question is where is the majourity of the foreigners in legislature? The real fact is that except the laws like prohibition of Sati system, permission to widow marriage, registration of marriage etc. which were enacted earlier the government has done nothing in matters of enacting the laws in social reform. Not only this but whenever some efforts were made in this direction in the legislature by some members the government stood firm in opposition to such efforts.

The Brahmins are worried about loosing their dominance. The non-Brahmins and the untouchables are opposed to the Dharma Shastra based Varna (caste) laws. Now these people also are voters to elect the members to the legislatures. The government can not put any restriction on legislators while granting the Swarajya Installment. Non-Brahmins are not ready to accept the degraded position as dictated in the Hindu religious books. Hence the Brahmin orthodoxy is prostrating before the Simon Commission to keep the enactment of social laws away from the ensuing legislatures. But these socio-religious reactionaries must knoe that even the Simon Commission is equally helpless to come to their rescue.

2 Sir John Simon And The Untouchables

When the delegation of orthodox Brahmins met the Simon Commission the Brahmin news papers did not give much publicity to it. But when at Ooty the untouchables honoured Simon Saheb with citation Simon Saheb stated in his speech that the problem of the untouchables is a social problem. By this he wanted to point out that the Simon Commission has been appointed to consider purely the political problems and not the social problems. By taking advantage of Simon's views the caste Hindus are making efforts to humiliate the untouchables for co-operating with the Simon Commission. Our adversaries must remember that the untouchables never thought that their problems can be solved by co-operating with the Simon Commission. The leaders of the untouchables also knew well that the committee appointed to introduce constitutional reform may not do much in introducing changes in social problems. Why did the untouchables not join the bycott movement against the Simon Commission the causes are quite obvious. The problems of the untouchables, their difficulties and the calamities that they face are quite different from others. And to solve these problems no serious efforts have been made so far by our coutry men. The national politics can help to some extent to solve untouchable's problems though those are social problems. The leaders of the untouchables thought it appropriate to place the problem before the Simon Commission because when the problem of granting new constitution will come before the British Parliament the problem of untouchables may also receive some consideration there. Muslims, Non-Brahmins and the land lords did not participate in the bycott movement against the Simon Commission. Not only this but even the orthodox Brahmins prostrated before the Simon Commission. Then why should untouchables lag behind? The bycott was the movement of the high caste Hindus and the untouchables do not believe that high caste Hindus have any good will towards the untouchables. It was not our expectation that we should demand and the Commission should grant. In our view the response of Sir John Simon's at Ooty was not satisfactory. It seems that Sir John Simon did not grasp the relation between political and social matters as was expected. Though there is no enough justification in Simon's view, we feel, there is enough justification for the untouchables in not participating the bycott against Simon. Those who are laughing at us must know that there is a saying in English which says "He laughs best who laughs last."

3 Mixed Settlement At Pune

The municipality of Poona has decided to establish a mixed settlement of all the castes of 80 families in the area of three acres of land on the bank of the river. The people of all the castes right from Brahmins to the untouchables are going to be there in the settlement. The system of cleanliness is going to be looked after by the co-operative housing society and the system of latrine is going to be combine in common in one place instead of house wise system. Some government officials and some rich people opposed this project much intensely. But the project has been accepted with absolute majourity. The chief officer of the municipality had shown his acceptance with much enthusiasm. The supporters of the project are regarding it as a new experiment. The separate settlements of untouchables will not solve their problem, the socially internal communication between the castes by staying together in the same locality may help reducing the intensity of caste practices and it will also help improving the living standard of the untouchables. This will also help removing many misunderstandings between touchables and untouchables. The living mode of untouchables has been unhealthy only because of their staying away from the main stream of society. If the children of all castes grow together in a new social atmosphere, this will help growing a new outlook in them. We congratulate the chief officer and others who support this project.

4 untouchables And Hindu Religion

Very recently Mahatma Gandhi gave a speech at Rangun in which he said that:

"In the race of life in which all the religions of the world are engaged today, I think in this race either Hinduism has got to perish or untouchability has to be routed out completely, so that the fundamental fact of Advaita Hinduism may be realized in practical life."

How many Hindus may be accepting this view of Mahatmaji? Till to this day the Mahatmaji has condemned untouchability. But his movement against untouchability has been so far ineffective. On the order of Mahatmaji the foreign cloth is publically burnt every where by the patriots but how many patriots are willing to burn the untouchability as they are burning the foreign cloth which is a very easy job? Hindus love the ideal of "Advaita" of the Vedant but in practice they follow the Dvaita ideal everywhere in their practice.

Collection of Various Views

Article of A Great Devoted Teacher

V. R. Shinde

The Progress of Untouchables Class in Higher Education in East Bengal

After establishing the Depressed classes Mission Society in Bombay Presidency I had to go to Bengal in 1908 on behalf of our Brahmo Samaj. There I had to give lectures at various places on the tragic condition of the untouchables. Some members of the Brahmo Samaj there like us in Bombay area have opened schools for the untouchables. In the beginning the Bengal Mission had menitained its relations with Bombay Mission. Whenever I used to go to Bengal I used to see their work there. When I had gone to Bengal in 1923 I had stayed there in our high schools in Jasore and Khulna districts ans inspected the work there carefully. Last year the Brahmo Samaj celebrated its 100th year anniversary in Culcutta. On this occasion a committee was formed to work in East and North Bengal. This work was assigned to me. I particularly visited under this programme along with other members the villages where schools were established for the children of Namsudras the untouchable community there. The schools are existing there for some 20 years and I could see the progress made by schools there in imparting education to the children of the Namsudras.

There is a main difference in the work of the Mission in Bengal and in Bombay. In Bombay almost all work is done by the Mission people only. But in Poona branch of the Mission work there is some difference. There it is actually the untouchable workers who do all the work by themselves. They are in majourity in the committee and it is they who man the Mission there at Poona.

In Bengal the situation is quite different. There right from the beginning all the schools to educate untouchable children were opened by the leading men of the untouchables themselves. What the Brahmo Samaj did in Bengal was that it encouraged and helped those untouchable leaders that came forward to open schools for the untouchable boys. The cause of this change between Bombay and Bengal is that the untouchables in Bengal are more advanced in their living standard there than the Mahars and Mangs of Bombay presidency. However some other untouchables like Dom, Pod, Hoary etc. in Bengal are much backward even more backward than the Mahars and Mangs of Bombay. As the untouchables of south India like Billava, Tiyya, Parrayya, Izava, and Chiruma etc. are more advanced the same is the condition of the Namsudras in Bengal. As in South India the high caste Hindus practice untouchability against Billava, Tiyya, Paarrayya, Chiruma etc. similarly the Namsudras also practice this against some of the lowest type of untouchables. In Bombay presidency when we started our Mission work some of the Chambhars and Dhors regarded themselves as high caste men and did not take advantage of our work initially. Only the Mahar boys used to take advantage of our work though they also hasited in behaving on equal terms with scavengers and Mangs. The sub-castes among the untouchables are genuine problems that mission faces in its work and this problem can not be properly understood by those who are not involved in the work of the Mission.

However the fact which must be noticed as important here is that the Namsudras of Bengal, particularly the East Bengal are making rapid progress in educational advancement. Whatever may be the other reasons of this progress the two causes which are upper most in this regard are the seriousness of the education department there in working with Missionary zeal in spreading education among the Namsudras and the zealous work of the Calcutta University in this matter. In education field whether it is primary education or higher education both Bengal and Madras presidencies are much ahead of other provinces in India. If we consider the work of the Bombay University we will notice that its work in educating women and sudras is very much lagging behind. The Bombay university is very much expert in making the higher education costly. Not only this but the university is in the habit of treating not only the women and the untouchables but also the people of criminal tribes, crippled people etc. on par with high caste men in matters of giving educational facilities. It is this policy of the Bombay University that is preventing the establishment of separate schools for the untouchables.

In Madras there are separate colleges for women. There is no Pardah system for women in Madras. Similarly in Bengal caste practices are not hard and fast. Earlier it was the impact of Buddhism and now it is the influence of the work of Brahmo Samaj that has weakened untouchability in day today practice in Bengal. Therefore, the several practices of untouchability that are found in South India can not be noticed in Bengal. The Namsudras in East Bengal are making rapid progress in many areas. It is Namsudras who manned the army during the Muslim regime and even after. Now also whenever there are riots between the Hindus and the Muslims the Namsudras are a terror to the Muslims. These Namsudras were the Buddhist Ksatriyas in former days.

Man is involved in thinking about his society, his religion etc. quite deeply. Every society for the sake of its progress is trying to adopt various ways for its onward march. Under the circumstances the pacivity of the untouchable communities and the inactivity of the leaders of the untouchables are terribly annoying. Therefore, our appeal to the leaders of the untouchables is that Sirs, this is not the time to keep quite in docility. If something for the progress of these men is not done in time the days of these people perishing is not far off. Therefore, without becoming disappointed due to the existing conditions awake with courage and overcome the calamities which you are facing now.

We would like to tell particularly the youths among us those gentlemen it is in you we entrust all our hopes today. Because unless the young men by becoming inspired act themselves no society or the nation can come up forcefully on the path of its progress. What can we find out when we look to the nations like China, Japan, and Turkestan etc? The young men in these countries are inspired with vision to make their nations strong and prosperous. Hence, the gentlemen without following the out dated showy leaders set them aside and come forward to break the castes which have stood as unbreakable walls between man and man.

An ambidextrous
Inspiring Message of
Swamy Vivekanand

Rise up! Become brave men! The priestly class which comes in the way of progress kick it out! Because the priestly class is one which can never be reformed. This class can never be broad minded. For hundreds of years this class is a slave of traditions and injustice. Rise up and destroy the dominance of the priestly class. Be brave, be human and come out from the narrow mindedness and throw your glance around the world. Look at the world and find out where the other nations of the world have reached. Do you love human being? Do you love your mother land? If so then let us fight for a higher cause. Do not look back. Even if your ancestors are calling you do not look back. Look always ahead.

Condition of untouchables In Africa

Hon. Shrinivas Shastri who had gone to Africa as an agent of government of India after returning from there he stated that the condition of untouchables in Africa who have gone there from India is much more advanced than the condition of untouchables in India. If opportunity is given, he stated that, the untouchables can show that they are in no way interior to the high caste Hindus. If the high caste Hindus take this view of their own caste leader into account they will understand how their view regarding untouchables in India is based on mean and wasteful thinking.

Some years back there occurred the showers of black coloured water at Hampshayer. In the year 1819 there occurred a black coloured rain in New York and this rainfall continued for many hours. In England also this kind of rain had occurred twice in the past. In Ireland at castle welan in the month of May, in 1885 there had occurred the read coloured rain and its colour was like the colour of the blood. Similarly in England also this kind of coloured rain had occurred once in the past. On the mountain Alps there occurs black coloured snow fall. In Germany also there occurs red coloured snow fall and this is what the people say there.

Letters From Lokhitwadi

No. 91

Alms Giving (charity)

It is not that only in present time our people have gone astray. They are so right from the beginning. But it is only not their foolishness and brainlessness that come to the surface particularly. These people were under their own rule in the past but now they are under the rule of foreigners. Earlier the foreigners did not meet them so closely. They (Indians) did not come in contact with such foreigners who were more intelligent and more advanced in their power of arguments. Hence the real drawbacks of our countrymen were not revealed. Even though these were foolish people there was none to tease them for their backwardness. If one will say that during lunar eclipse Rahu will eat the moon other will say that there are mountain ranges around the moon. Since both were foolish their foolishness remained confined with themselves only. The kings of olden days were so much foolish that they had given village after village as grants to the temples and the individuals, particularly the Brahmins. But it did not occur to their mind that why these Brahmins should be maintained? What work does the Brahmin do? How can he do anything good to the king by spending his whole life in laziness? Kings never thought about this. The kings used to give various things as donation to the Brahmins. Their only view was that the Brahmins must be fed. Because of this parasitical living the Brahmins gave up learning. Why anybody should do labour when things of comforts are available without doing anything. They began earning only on the basis of old books, old astrology, old medicine, old religious books etc. and they thought this as the end in all. The kings also supported this and made the Brahmins lazy. Except eating food in the house of their devotees the Brahmins recognized no other duty in their living style. The people forgot that the Brahmins should contribute to the growth of knowledge, they forgot that Brahmins means the service to the people they forgot that those who enjoy free land granted by the king must serve the people. People think that keep the Brahmin happy and take his blessings is the only work that they have to do and the ignorant masses regard this as the real religion. They do not regard that the hard work is needed for the growth of comfort and this is the real religion. There is no one who has gone abroad by spending money to learn art, science, and variety of professions to add more to the comfort of life. But the people who feed the Brahmanas in hundreds, in thousands and give Dana (charity) to them, are found in almost all the villages. In reality the Brahmins thrive on the labour of the people right from their birth but what do they do for the people? If anybody asks this question this question has no answer. There people like Ahilyabai Holkar who performed many religious acts but all those acts went in waste. The people whom she regarded as wise men listened them and did all that, without understanding, and it was all a waste. Any way we do not blame her. But our question here is should we continue to do those things hereafter also? It is better that we should become wise enough hereafter. Everybody is interested in doing some religious act. There are no other people who are more religious minded than the Hindus. Hence it is necessary now to think that all the acts which the Hindus regard as religious act are really religious? We feel that there are many acts which are regarded as religious are in reality the foolish acts and are not acceptable to the god. In our view the religion means two things: one the religion is needed for poor man for his physical protection and happiness and another the growth in his understanding by which his mind will be reformed. Now the question is where does Hindu religion stand here? Some people will say that if we feed the Brahmins they will have their physical satisfaction. This is the first kind of religion. But this is not so. We have to think that who deserve the first kind of religion? The poor and handicapped people alone deserve the first kind of religion. The caste is not the test of the first kind of religion. The second kind of religion is the role of the learned men who by teaching the knowledge enlighten the people. The Brahmins are not qualified for both the religious roles. For doing first kind of religious service these are not blind lame and handicapped. For doing second religious service i.e. making the people wise, how can they do it when they themselves are not wise people? How can they do it when they do not understand the religion properly, how can they teach it to others properly? The behaviour of these priests in a way is better than deceivers, liars, looters and unhealthy social elements. Peshwa Bajirao second by getting the wrong things done by them made their wicked acts open to the public. The rich people go on pilgrimage to holy places like Kasi (Benares) and distribute money and gold to the priests there. This is done by many rich people in India. They place thousands of Rs. on the feet of the image of lord Vishnu and other deities. Is this the religion? This only helps grow only the number of lazy men. This way these Bhatjis (priests) have formed the habit of thriving on the money of the rich people spreading wrong things as religion. Under the British rule this influence of the priests (generally the Brahmins) is being reduced and hence they blame the English rule. Swarajya (self rule) has gone and with it the cult of feeding the Brahmanas (Brahman Bhojan) has gone. They think that the rule is better which feeds the Brahmanas (Bhatjis). They rarely think of the country and other castes. They are unhappy under the new rule only because their feeding has gone and their prestige has been reduced. Peshwa Bajirao second did all bad things even then they praise him, they call him as protector of religion. Our request to the people is do not give anything to the Brahmins in the name of religion as Dana (donation, gift etc.). The people must think first whether the money that they spend in the name of the religion is really worth doing. Help needy, diseased and handicapped people. This is the real religion. Another thing is those that write books, print news papers etc. by putting in their labour to acquire knowledge to make people wise and intelligent patronize them that are the religion. There is a merit in the growth of knowledge. Masses are ignorant they do not understand anything that there is no other religious merit than making them wise and knowledgeable. While you are on death bed do not ask your children to construct a temple in your memory, ask them to donate to print a book and start a printing press. This is my request.

Self Introduction

Public Meetings, Programmes And Other News

* Victory of The Truth *

Open Request To The Hindu Society

Should we 5000 people leave Hinduism?

The caste system of the Hindus has weakened the Hindu society.

We Mahars and Mangs due to our staying in Hindu religion have been suffering humiliation for thousands of years. At present the cow killing and cow eating iconoclastic people of other religions like Muslims and Christians can enter the Hindu temples. But we the untouchables, the respecters of the cows and worshippers of the Hindu temple are not even allowed to touch the footsteps of the Hindu temples.

Truly speaking the Hindu religion in which we are living the people of the same religion hate us and even refuse to touch us. Mahars at Jalgaon became Muslims some six months back. One among them whose earlier name was Piraji now by the name Sheikh Piran does the profession of a slaughtering. Now this sheikh Piran carrying the cow flesh in a basket goes around even in Hindu locality and sales the flesh of the cow openly. The same sheikh Piran draws the water from the Hindu wells without any prohibition. But the Hindus do not object to it. Whereas among the Mahars and Mangs there are many who follow the Manbhav and Vaishnava cults and are purely vegetarians. Even then the Hindus refuse to touch them and their touch pollutes them. The Hindu religion and Hindu gods become polluted by our touch. Therefore, the untouchables are ashamed of regarding this kind of polluted religion and polluted gods as ours. What has Hindu religion done for us when we lived in it for so many years? This is our open question to the Hindu leaders. In this kind of degraded religion not only the Mahars and Mangs but even others also should not remain in it is our suggestion to others.

Thus by this notice we are openly declaring to the Hindus that if before 1st June 1929 they do not declare that they will treat us as they do the Muslims and others giving us the same rights then on 2nd June 1929 we the untouchables of Jalgaon and the neighbouring area will embrace Islam or Christianity along with all our family members numbering about 5000. We know that there are some people among the Hindus who make efforts to help the untouchables. But there are many rich orthodox Hindus who oppose these reformers and trouble them. If anybody from Hindu Maha Sabha, Satya Shodhak Samaj or Arya Samaj wishes to correspond with us he should write to shri Bhiku Isaji Khanderao, at post Jalgaon (Jamod) Dist. Buldhana.

Yours sincerely,
signed on behalf of
five thousand people
1 Punaji Sonaji Mahar
2 Motiram & Jama Mahar
3 Bhavji & Ramji Mahar

On 17 February, 1929 the public meeting of the untouchables was organized at Shirvali Taluka Chiplun, District Ratnagiri. Raghoji Sonaji Malanakar presided over the meeting. The following resolutions were passed in the meeting. In the villages around Guhaghar (it was a market town) area the postman does not deliver the letters of the untouchables going to the houses of the untouchables. Therefore, the letters do not reach the addresses. The post-master General should pay his attention to this problem. The school board of Ratnagiri District had passed a resolution that in the school run by the District School Board both the touchable and untouchable boys should sit together. But the Board again after rethinking on this resolution rejected the passing of the resolution. This meeting protests against the act of the board outright and declares that this act goes against the work of Hindu Sanghatan (unity) that is going on at present. Mahars should not eat the flesh of the dead animals; they should give up the beggary attached to the Baluta (hereditary work) system and give up doing all filthy work that they do in the villages. The parents should send their children to the schools. This public meeting supports the Vatan Bill of Dr. Ambedkar Saheb. Both the touchables and the untouchables should work jointly to destroy Brahmanism. Bapya Kamya Mahar and others of the village Nivhal Taluka Chiplun wore the sacred thread in the conference held at Dapoli. They were harassed in their villages by the Brahmans, Marathas and Khots. They were fined Rs.30/- by the touchables in their village. This meeting condemns that anti-social act unanimously. The meeting also requests that the Hon.Collector of Ratnagiri District should pay his attention to this harassing act of the touchables. It was also resolved that the practice of marrying the young boys and girls in their tender age must be stopped. The meeting ended by raising the slogan "victory to Dr. Ambedkar Saheb."

Welcome (Pan-Supari) to Honourable Sir Subhe (High officer) Of Kolhapur

On 2 – 2 – 1929 state Karveer at 9 am there was a Pan Supari (offering chewing leaves and battle nuts) programme arranged by the untouchables of Gadhinglaz in honour of the official dignitary of Kolhapur called sir. Subhe (in olden days any programme of welcoming or honouring the high dignitary was usually called as Pan Supari programme). The untouchables of many villages and the dignitaries in Gadhinglaz had gathered for the function. Shri Appaji Malge, Konagale, Mahars spoke about the good work done by Shahu Maharaj and also in praise of sir Subhe. After that Rao Saheb Munsaf spoke about the work of self-help propagated by Dr. Ambedkar among the untouchables. After this Sarojinibai Agsimne (Mahar) stated how the practice of Devdasi (Jogtya and Murlya) among the untouchables is causing social, moral and educational losses to the community. The leaders and the government officials ignore this problem conveniently she added. After this in his speech sir Subhe assured them that if the people by calling the meeting passed the resolutions regarding the education and against the practice of Devdasis and send the same to me the state can do something necessary for this. In the end on behalf of the untouchable community's shri S. L. Asode (school teacher) and shri A. L. Malge offered Pan-Supari, garland and bouquet to the honourable sir Subhe. Thus ended the programme.

After this remaining people started their meeting again under the chairmanship of shri Asode. In the meeting speeches were made by shri Kamble (Chambhar) member Municipality, Gadhinglaz, shri Govind Hule, Talathi (Mang), shri Ramchandra Bhosale (Mahar), clerk, shri Malge etc. In the end with the consent of all following resolutions were passed.

(1) Loyality to the Government (2) The propaganda among

the villagers for the spread of education (3) Pursue the government to end the practice of Devdasis called Murlya and Jogtya which is mostly prevalent among the untouchables (4) Reach the paper Bahishkrit Bharat to every village and help the Bahishkrit Bharat press fund (5) Dr. Ambedkar showed us the path of the inter-dinning of all the community members together through the "Social Equality League" we thank him and shri Shivtarkar for this adventurous move. In the end the thanks were offered to all those members of Mahars, Mangs and Chambhars who helped both these meetings in making successful.

Appreciable work

At Kagve, Taluka Dapoli, District Ratnagiri with the efforts of a pensioner Havaldar Bhiku Govind Bhombadkar and with the financial support of the Mahars of the surrounding area a Marathi school has been started. The salary of the teacher of the school is paid by the Mahars through their own contribution. The school work is supervised by the Havaldar Bhombadkar. Following the message given by Dr. Ambedkar in Dapoli conference the Mahars have stopped carrying the dead animals from the village therefore the caste Hindus in the villages on the instigation of the Brahmins are harassing the Mahars. There is a branch of Hindu Maha Sabha in Dapoli but it keeps itself aloof from these troubles. Hindu Maha Sabha is nothing but an association to protect the interest of the Brahmins is the opinion of the people here.

Conference of The Truth Finding Society
(14th seating)

It is for the information of all that the 14th meeting of the Satya Shodhak Samaj (truth finding society) is going to meet in Bombay in the last week of April. The date and the name of the chairman will be announced later on. It is hereby requested that the members should come forward to help organizing the conference.

Address:
Dadar No. 14 Mumbai

Raghunath Devaji Banakar
General Secretary

5th Annual Conference of Depressed Classes Students

At Pune on 2nd and 3rd March, 1929 on behalf of Mahar Students Association its 5th annual social gathering was organized in Ahilyasram in Nanapeth. The camp education society's high school Head Master shri P.K. Atre B.A.B.T; T.D. (London) was the president of the gathering. On first day there were game competitions. The boys of Mahar, Mang and Chambhar castes participated in it. The next day morning there was a discussion programme among the boys. In the after-noon after the report reading of the annual activity shri Atre gave his presidential address in which he narrated his experiences while staying in England and told the students how India is backward in many fields in comparison with England.

The gathering programme was over after taking photo with the chief guest. The students in Bombay should also organize such a programme annually is our suggestion to them (editor).

The Questions To The Rohidas Dabholi Chambhar Samaj (society) Service Leagues President Secretary And Treasurer

The questions enumerated below have been sent to us by a member of the above mentioned society for publication.

1 The above mentioned league has come into existence two years back. What work the sangh (league) has done for the society for which it has come into existence?

2 At Poyabawadi a hall was to be constructed for the Chambhars of Dabholi. Has the hall been constructed?

3 If the institution is registered it will become weight in the eyes of the government was your view. Will you please narrate about the weight that the institution threw on the government and the advantage that the society gained from it?

4 The president of the organization was appointed as the member of the municipality due to the efforts made by Dr. Ambedkar. What work the president has done during his

tenure for the sake of Dabholi Chambhars?

5 The organization was to open a boarding for 100 boys of Dabholi Chambhar community. Has it been opened? If not yet, when will it be opened?

After getting answers to these questions we will ask another set of questions.

A member of the
Organization

Committee To Spread The Education Among The Untouchables

An Orphanage, Solapur

An Appeal

Almost one fifth of the population of the country called as untouchables is deeply placed for centuries together in ignorance while leading their life. The poverty is their unavoidable fate. The stream of education is floating in this country for almost one hundred years but this floating water of education has not come near these untouchables as they need it. Ignorance, poverty and lack of education have prevented them in coming into the process of progress. The fortunate part of this tragic story is that now a days many touchable Hindus show their concern with the problems of the untouchables. Therefore, many touchable Hindus are helping the orphanage of untouchable' students started by "Untouchables Education Society" to spread the education among the children of the depressed classes. Formerly shri Jayappa Subhana Aidale was the superintendent of this hostel. From 16th December, 1928 the work of the boarding is looked after under the instructions of shri Shivtarkar General Secretary, on the advice of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Similarly there is no fund of a permanent nature with this association. The boarding is housed in the untouchable locality (Maharwada) and there are 15 students staying in the boarding. Students boarding and lodging expenses, their cloths, school fees etc. are to be provided only by collecting money from the people by way of donation. Therefore, in order to bring these people up from the mud in which these people are stuck up helplessly there a need of the help from the liberal minded philanthropists to this boarding. Help to these people is a noble cause of helping the nation. Those who wish to see the account and register maintained by the boarding should do so. It is available for anybody for his perusal in the office of the boarding. The report will also be published from time to time.

Public Notice
On Behalf Of Depressed Classes Education Society

In Solapur Boarding 7 students from untouchable classes who have passed 4th standard examination are to be admitted. The desirous should send postal ticket of 2 Annas and get the admission forms. By filling in the forms the forms should reach on or before 15th May 1929 to the persons whose address is given below.

Hari Bhau Torne & Udhav Dhondi
Shivasharan, supervisers, poor
Boys Hostel Solapur (Maharwada)

Conference of The Untouchables At Surat

The conference of Hindu Mahasabha is going to be organized during the coming Easter in Surat under the chairmanship of the editor of the Paper Modern Review, shri Ramanand. After this conference there is going to be another conference called "untouchables progress," which is going to meet under the chairmanship of Madan Mohan Malvia, a staunch supporter of Brahmanism. Shri Amrutlal Thakar is going to be the chairman of the reception Committee. When man like Malvia is presiding over the conference of the untouchables progress the untouchables should think how much progress they are going to make through such conference. If the chairman has any respect for Hinduism he must then show the courage of taking some untouchables into the Hindu temples at Surat. In this Surat city the untouchables are not permitted to enter even the government schools. A reader enquires that whether these conferences are being organized at Surat to continue this prohibitory system permanently there?

Bombay Municipal Corporation Members Nominated By The Government

In Bombay Municipal Corporation the Government has nominated 14 members among whom 2 are Parsees, 3 are Muslims, 3 are Europeans, 1 is Jew and 5 are Hindus. Dr. P.G. Solanki is nominated from the untouchables.

A Big Public Meeting of The Untouchables

There is going to be a big public meeting on 17th March 1929 at Kurla on the Swadeshi Mill ground under the chairmanship of shri D. V. Pradhan on behalf of the untouchables there. In the meeting to establish an organization for the welfare of the untouchables will be discussed. Shri D. V. Naik, shri Shivtarkar S. N, shri B. V. Pradhan, B.A;LLB, shri S. S. Gupte etc. will remain present.

Donation

Shri Shitaram Namdeo Shivtarkar gave cloths and shri Raghunath Devaji Banakar, General Secretary Satya Shodhak Samaj, gave a cow for the students in the boarding run by the committee of educational progress of the untouchables at Panvel. The committee (Mandal) is thankful to both the honourable men for their liberal donation. Instead of spending money on Saints and Sadhus and on performing religious rites it is better to donate money to the schools and boardings which is an act of real merit earning. – Editor

Liberal donation

The governor of Madhya Pradesh sir, Montegu Butler Saheb Donated Rs.200/- to the building fund of shri Chokha Mela free Boarding building. The institution most gratefully thanks him for his liberal donation. Shri Makesar V. D. informs this.

Donations Given to Bahishkrit Bharat press Fund

Donations sent by some people
From Karachi

Kashiram Pandurang Vagaonkar sent Rs. 10
Four men Sent Rs. 5 each
Their names are mentioned here.
One man sent Rs. 3

There were 23 persons who sent Rs. 2 each and their names are printed here in Bahishkrit Bharat.

People contributed Rupee one each and their names are mentioned here.

Doners Who Gave Donation Individually- their names are mentioned here.

Rs. 138 were given at Devale through Dr. Ambedkar. Pensioner Jamadar Ramji Ratnaji, Belgaum, through him Rs. 106 and 13 Annas were given. Rs. 125 were given by shri Ganesh Shivrao Mohite. The office of the truth spreading society Kognoli gave Rs.75/-, Govind Bhaya Sakhudkar Devalati donated Rs.50/-, shri K. H. Devale donated Rs. 40/-, Dau Raju Jadhav, office Kognoli Rs.32 Annas 6. A. V. More, Vavade Rs. 25, Mahadev Sambhaji Ahivale Rs.25, The Mahars of cement chawl Agreepada donated Rs.23; The Mahars elders kasara Rs. 20, shri V. S. Savant Rs. 15/-, shri Kanu sonu Vazlolkar Rs.11, The Mahars of many places donated Rs.10 each in a big number.

Other Mahars donated Rs. 9 and Annas 14 each. There were two Mahars that gave Rs. 7 each. There was one person who gave Rs. 6/- There were three Mahars who gave Rs. 5/- each. Again there were three Mahars who donated Rs. 4 each. Seven Mahars gave Rs. 3 each. Some eight people gave Rs. 2 each and there were 14 people who gave either one Rupee or 1 ½ Rupee each as donation.

Belgaum District Social Conference
Session 1st

On Saturday dated 23rd March 1929 there will be a conference at Belgaum under the chairmanship of shri Shitaram Namdeo Shivtarkar, an untouchable's leader of Bombay. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar and Dr. Solanki will also remain present for the conference. Similarly the members of the start committee appointed to investigate the condition of the untouchables will also remain present in the conference.

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BAHISHKRIT BHARAT

(Untouchable India)

A fortnightly Paper
Editor & Publisher
Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
Bar- at-Law, Rahim Building,
Poybawadi, Parel, Mumbai

I mounted on the chariot with bow in my hands and it is my satisfaction that bravery has surcharged my body. To establish fame in the world, to enhance the prestige of one's own religion and to release the earth from its burden, now Parth be doubtless, pay attention to this struggle. After hearing this there should be no need of saying anything more.

Year 2nd] Friday, Dated 29th Mar. 1929 [issue 9th

Mill Owners and Workers

Last year there was a quarrel between the Mill Owners and Workers and all the workers went on strike. This strike went on for six months and in the end Bombay Government's General Member sir Gulam Husain interfered in it and the strike ended at least temporarily. The conditions on which the strike was called off were one condition among them was that the Government should appoint a committee to enquire about the quarrel between the Mill owners and the Mill workers. According to the government decision the committee of three people with Sir Charles facet, a judge of Bombay High court, as chairman and Mr. M.P Kharegat, ICS (Retired) and shri Balkrishna Shitaram Kamat as members was appointed. This committee after hearing the causes of quarrel from both the parties made deep enquiry about the problem. The report of this enquiry committee has been published on last Saturday. The committee has produced a report which is almost an important report. Since the committee has tried to refute the arguments of both the parties its conclusions have become problematic to both the parties. Among the workers there are many untouchable workers both men and women. We will see what their problems here are and what the committee thinks about them. The main problem of the untouchable workers in Mills is that they should have freedom to work in "The Department of seal."

The strike committee of workers had made 17 demands and the demand of permission to untouchable' workers to work in seal department was one of the 17 demands. This demand was not opposed by the owners also but was opposed by the Maratha and such other caste workers. We have never opposed to this demand was the statement of the mill owners. The mill owners never bothered whether the cloth making was done by untouchables or touchables. The owners are much concerned with their profit and not with other things. The workers in the department of cloth making refuse to work in that department with untouchable workers. The untouchable workers can work in other departments but they cannot work in cloth making department, here the workers get more salary than in other department. If Mahars and Chambhars work in the cloth making department the Marathas and such other caste men argue that their caste is polluted because there the thread is to be caught in the mouth. If Muslim workers are there in that department the caste of the Marathas does not pollute. The demand made by the strike committee has been accepted by the owners of the Mills. But the implementation of this demand is in the hands of the workers themselves. The workers of the untouchables were already making the efforts to influence the government appointed committee in this regard. The untouchable workers should take a stern stand to oppose the Maratha workers who oppose the untouchable workers entry into the cloth making department of the Mills. The leftist workers organizations (communists) are keeping quiet on this issue. Their leaders on this issue are still non-committal. We are sure that if the workers of the untouchable communities by their unity and peaceful agitation keep their agitation on with determination they will definitely succeed in getting their rightful claim established. The enthusiastic workers from the untouchable communities should come forward and show their willingness to learn the work in the cloth making department. Those who are eager to learn the cloth making work if register their names in our "workers union, Damodhar Hall," the arrangement to teach the work to them can be made by the union. The facet committee has suggested the 7 ½ percent reductions in the worker's salary due to depression. But the owners of the Mills should not reduce the salary of the weavers. The committee has also stated that the reduction of worker's salaries should not be implemented until the scheme of change in the market rate is implemented. It is good that Mill owners are not implementing the changed market rates immediately.

Reduction In salary Is At Least Avoided

It is good that the owners have not decided to reduce the salaries of the weavers. Had the owners reduced their salaries they would have gone on strike and naturally the other departments like texture or thread making would have been kept closed. This would have resulted into the untouchable workers going out of their employment. Already the temporary strikes temporary supervisions from the work etc. add to the misery of the untouchable mill workers. Hence it is good that weavers salary is not reduced when the problems of the mill workers is under discussion. However this existing condition in the mills should not keep the untouchable mill workers self-complacent. They should all become the members of the workers union and improve their strength of unity and make efforts to get their grievances redressed.

Belgaum District Depressed Classes Social Conference

Session First

Presidential Speech By Shitaram Namdẹv Shivatarkar

Gentlemen, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to preside over this conference. In fact you should have elected someone who is great, learned and who has done a good deal of social work. But I feel that it is your love towards me that has compelled you to make this choice. It is for this I have accepted this chair with great pleasure, though I have my own doubts to what extent I will shoulder this responsibility successfully. Perhaps it is due to your blessings I may carry this responsibility to its successful end.

Our respectful leader Dr Ambedkar Saheb is making all his efforts to make all-round progress of the Depressed Classes people after his returning from England. Through the public meetings and conferences much awakening towards over all progress of our people is taking place. Our sorrows and owes are being constantly discussed in these meetings. But we have gathered here to discuss the problem of the social inequality which is coming in our way every now and then in the path of our progress. The class of untouchables is the backward class in all the respects. This class has not remained backward on its own. It has remained backward because the social environment for its progress was not favourable. The upper caste people have suppressed them under their feet. The class of untouchables means the class which has been thrown out from the frame of the four Varna of Hindu society. The untouchables do not even belong to the Shudra Varna; they are outside the Varna of the shudras. They are, therefore, called as Ati-Shudras. The untouchables do not move out of certain social limits because of the socio-religious pressure of the four Varnas on them. The untouchable has been suppressed so much from the pressure from above that side-tracking that burden is very much difficult for him. He has maintained his position stand still because of the unfavourable environment around him. Today we have to think how to get rid of this helpless condition to make the path of our progress free by removing the thorns spread on it. We have been sandwiched from all the sides. We have no freedom to say anything about our sorrow.

Even though this is the situation the untouchable communities under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar have decided to take steps courageously against their condition and the upper caste men have become much worried. They are under the fear that whether this struggle of untouchables will shatter the four Varna system of Hindu society. The touchables have done injustice to the untouchables beyond all measures. They have obstructed our path of progress everywhere. Their sinful acts committed against us are many and those acts have become unbearable to us now. We untouchables coming together should resist the touchables with all our might now. Their Varna system must be destroyed completely and it should be leveled to the ground. It is only in the destruction of the Varna system there lays the good of both the touchables and the untouchables. This will bring both of them on the path of peace and progress. This conference in a way is more important than the conference of the untouchables that is going to be organized at Surat. Those touchable leaders who speak the language of the progress of the untouchables should get their progress made by listening what the untouchables argue about them. This is our sincere suggestion to them.

The burden of untouchability put on us fur thousands of years has become unbearable to us now and we have to throw it off. While doing this the frame of Varnasrama social system is bound to collapse. We will earn merit only when we destroy this sinful system. By which way this act can be done is the main issue before us today.

We are weak and powerless in all the way. Socially we are lesser than animals because the animals are qualified to be touched whereas we are untouchables. Our economic condition is most miserable. Religiously except calling us as Hindus we have no right that Hindus enjoy. In education we are most backward among all other Hindus. Under the English rule we are getting some education now days. But here also the touchables are coming in our way. This is known from the complains we receive from the different District School Board Schools. This way we have been placed in dilemma everywhere by these touchables in Hindu Society. The injustice is done to us in all the areas-economic, political, social and religious. The human group which is backward socially will not come forward politically. The class which is backward economically will not come forward socially and politically. If there is democracy in every walk of life then only the political democracy is of some use to the people. Suppose tomorrow Indian gets Swarajya (self-rule) will untouchables if they remain where they are gain anything along with the caste Hindus? Nobody will say "yes" to this question. The untouchables are harassed and suppressed socially by the caste Hindus. Will it be possible for untouchables under Swarajya to get rid of the tyranny of the caste Hindus so suddenly? On the contrary, knowingly or unknowingly there will be more injustice done to the untouchables by the caste Hindus who will be the wielders of power in Swarajya. By keeping the Varanasrama society intact how will the political democracy succeed? The wise man alone will forecast about this. It is because of these problems our leaders who advocate for social equality say that the Swarajya without social equality is meaningless. Society based on social equality will help the society in educational, political and economic fields the progress with speed. In a reformed society other reforms also advance towards permanence.

From untouchables point of view social matters are more important than political matters. An intellectual giant like Dr. Ambedkar has been compelled to enter in social matters by seeing the miserable condition of the untouchables instead of political matters. In his view more than political movements the untouchable's to-day need social movements. No doubt untouchables need political movements by which they will receive the help to improve their social condition. But in the main the untouchables need social equality first. Public water tanks and wells, Roads, Temples, Restaurants will be open to us if we establish our equality rights. To lead a life of self-respect we must agitate to establish our social equality. Hence we need social reform movement first. It is not that a great man like Dr. Ambedkar does not feel for political slavery. But he feels that the social slavery of the untouchables is more unbearable than the political slavery. When the touchables commit atrocities on untouchables it becomes a Saga of unbearable suffering for them. That is why he has plunged into this social movement to lead the untouchables. This is the reason why the untouchables take the social problems as the problems of their heart. And in their view it this social problems on which the all other problems depend.

We have to form the aggressive policy to fight and win our rights from the irresponsible caste Hindus who have deprived our rights. It is a matter of surprise how we have tolerated this injustice that is going on against us for centuries together. This injustice now has become so much intolerable that tolerating it any more hereafter would only mean that we are not fit for ordinary human rights which are being enjoyed by all other human beings in their civilized societies.

When we begin agitating to demand our rights these people affected by the diseased Hinduism of Varanasrama Dharma (religion) started preaching us about the tenets of their philosophy. They try to sow the seeds of dissension among us. They will not allow us to enjoy our natural rights so easily. But without bothering for their tricks and opposition we must prepare to snatch our rights with no compromise on this. While doing this it is possible that we will require not only to struggle but we may even need to shed our blood and we must be prepare to do this. We should be prepared to launch our Satyagraha everywhere as we did it at Mahad. We must enter the temples when we are regarded as Hindus. In all public places like schools, courts etc. we must enter freely without any fear. The touchables due to caste divisions amongst them are divided within them. Due to ghostly ambition among the Brahmins the rest of the communities are divided within themselves. Taking advantage of this situation if we hit them back we may be successful in our struggle strategically.

On this some may argue that if we take this stand the touchable Hindus will become angry over this stand and will oppose our struggle to ameliorate the condition of the untouchables. On this argument my answer is that if the caste Hindus take this stand it will be more beneficial to us. Their wrathful stand in opposition to our struggle will encourage us further more to adopt the stand tit for tat against them. The caste Hindus would have understood our feelings had they been in our place. How does the fish sleep in water can be known only by the fish. If we ask the touchables that why are they in a hurry to struggle against the British to gain Swarajya (self-rule) their answer is shut your mouth, we want to be free as early as possible from the yoke of alien rule. The untouchables' answer to the touchables is the same which the touchables answer on the English rule in India.

The Hindus are likely to charge us because of our aggressive stand against the practice of untouchability. It is here that we are opposed to their religion. The untouchables have given up their age old professions and they are crossing the limits of their old ways of social behaviour.

On the advice of Dr. Ambedkar they are now demanding for inter-caste marriages and inter-dinning programmes among the various caste people. Dr. Ambedkar has established his "Social Equality League" to promote this programme only. This programme is directly opposed to the principles and the practice of Hindu religion. Whenever such a thing occurs the conservative Hindus shout that the Hinduism is sinking. They shouted when the trains were introduced, they shouted when the system of burning the widow on funeral pyre was stopped, they shouted when the child marriage was stopped by law. Whenever there was any law of social reform they shouted that Hindu religion is in danger. To- day it is because of these people's standing the Hindu religion is fighting a battle of servival. It is because of this weakness of the Hindu religious leaders the Islam and Christianity is trying to suck the blood of Hinduism. The religion which comes in the way of man's progress must be kicked out as worthless to be accepted.

Really speaking the religion means the growth of self to the extent of its knowing the Brahman and merging itself into the Brahman. The thing which helps this process of self knowing the Brahman and merging itself into the Brahman is called as religion. When we understand Hindu religion from this point of view we find that the Hindu religion is very much superior religion. Because in other religions it is said that men are children of god, whereas in Hinduism it is stated that man is the part of God. This principle is not found in other religion. This is there only in Hindu religion. But this holy religion has been spoiled by its preceptors called "Brahmins." The Brahmins by composing the deceptive religious books by their own selfishness have developed the theory and practice of high and low in society. By depriving others their rights to education they have kept them in ignorance and this is what they have written in those deceiving books. The individual freedom of other caste men has been destroyed by these Brahmins. By doing so many such things the Brahmins have destroyed the noble aspect of Hindu religion. Because of the caste system nobody, other than the Brahmins, is capable to make his progress in Hindu society. Hence it is necessary that this frame of Chaturya Varna must be broken without leaving any trace of it behind. Therefore, the movement that has been launched under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar Saheb must be supported to preserve the religion founded by the ancient Rishi-Munis. This work will be done under the auspices of social equality league. This league is doing a very much holy and high level social work. This league wishes to do the work of social reconstruction on the basis of social equality. We by entering into the work of social equality league must work to destroy the existence of Varna system and teach the Brahmins the message of social equality because the Brahmins have become deviated from the genuine ancient religion of this land.

This is what we have discussed about our aggressive policy framed for our movement and the objection raised to this by the caste Hindus. Now there is a need of turning towards the other side of our movement. In order to make our movement more strong and powerful we have to pay our attention towards our self examination. If we do not attack when we are capable it will be the sign of our timidity and if we merely attack without making proper preparation and without acquiring proper strength we are not sure of our hundred percent successe. Hence in order to grow our strength and plan for our proper strategy we have to spend much of energy to prepare for the struggle. For this as a starting point we have to change our bad practices, customs and traditions that go in the name of the religion. We have to give up our old ways of thinking and behaviour. For examples give up carrying and eating the dead animals, drinking intoxicants, practicing dirty living, etc. we must throw off these evil things at once. These practices are not only harming our health and prestige but are to a great extent responsible for stigmatizing us as untouchables. These practices are the signs of branding us as untouchables. Because of these practices not only the touchables regard us as untouchables but those practices create in us also that we are genuinely the low human beings. And this feeling in us is in reality harmful in creating the sense of self-respect and fighting zeal among our people. These come in the way of our struggle and stand against our rise in our competition of life. These practices create a feeling of inequality and we must kill this feeling of inequality generated in us as early as possible. We must grow the feeling in us that we are in no way inferior to anybody; we are equal with all others. Our religious innocence is another cause of our tragedy. We must adopt the path of religious enlightenment. We must give up the dirty ways and style of our living; these give a cause to caste Hindus to under-rate us and hate us.

Now days our people are spending much money in marriage programmes. They arrange for marriage of their children at their tender age and spend money much lavishly generally borrowing from the money lender. They continue to repay this loan in their whole life. There is a need of interference of our caste Panchayat (committee of elders) in it. First of all they should make it a rule that unless the boy attains the age of 20 and the girl attains the age of 16 they are not eligible for marriage. The money that they spend so much lavishly in the marriage the same can be spent in giving education to the children. If the elders committee (Jat Panchayat) makes it as a rule that the money that is spent in marriage at least a part of it must be spent in education this will help growing the percentage of educated people in our society. As there are certain bad customs there are certain good customs also in our communities, for examples remarriage and divorce. At present the high caste Hindus are feeling the need for these practices in India. These practices are already there in vogue among the untouchable communities. Only problem is that there are sub-castes among the untouchables. The marriages and eating together among the members of these sub-castes is a tabu and the efforts must be made to remove caste barriers between these sub-castes. These sub-castes among the untouchables have made them weak and enabled the touchables to place their yoke on the neck of the untouchables. Hence there is a need of the movement to make all these sub-castes among the untouchables united and one. The story that what our people should do has been narrated so far. Now we will see the need of the role that the government can play and should play in this herculean task.

The English Government is ruling this country for over 150 years. But during such a lengthy period of its rule it does not seem to have done much to improve the condition of these people. We helped the British to acquire the power of this country thinking that we may get rid of the tyranny of the caste Hindus. But under the new rule of such a lengthy period also the condition of the untouchables has remained more or less the same. It is unbecoming of the rulers of this new rule. In their early years and even during the First World War by entering in their army we helped the British to keep them safe in this country. But when their need was over after the end of the war they stopped the recruitment of our people in the army. This arrested our progress that was going on gradually. They neglected our education. To help educating the untouchables they have passed some laws but the government is rarely bothered to see whether the officers implement those laws or not. Not only this but those officers, Municipalities and local boards that neglect to implement these government laws the government is not even bothered about making enquiry over the implementation of those laws. The untouchables due to their untouchability their ways of progress are blacked and due to their poverty their condition is worst. The government has even shirked from its responsibility of improving our economic condition. Had government helped us by taking some interest in our problems we would have come up not only from the age old slavery of untouchability imposed on us but we would have made our economic progress also.

Whatever it is at least the government hereafter should take care for bringing about our progress as earnestly as possible. For this purpose we should make certain proposals to the government is my honest opinion. The proposals can be as follows:

1 Observation of untouchability should be forbidden by law.

2 The caste column from the government list must be removed.

3 The government policy of religious neutrality is causing humiliating treatment to the untouchables. Their social rights have been deprived. By giving up the policy of religious neutrality the government by making changes in the existing law should protect the social freedom of the untouchables.

4 Untouchables are poverty stricken people. Therefore the government land, particularly uncultivated land which is lying barren should be given to the untouchables for cultivation. And this kind of cultivation of barren land should be encouraged by means of financial help.

5 The government should be liberal enough in making the appointment of untouchable candidates in government services.

6 Until the untouchables have come up to the level of touchables in education the government should establish the hostels for the untouchable students in every district head quarter.

7 The condition of Chambhars profession has declined considerably; the classes should be opened to improve the standard of their profession. The government should also help their co-operative institution to promote their profession further. The well qualified candidates in their profession should also be sent to foreign countries to acquire better training and to develop better skill in their profession.

8 The untouchables are not allowed to enter the Hindu hotels and inns. Such hotels and inns should not be issued permission by the government. Similarly in railway department

the officers there should treat all as equal in hotels and restaurants there.

If the government thinks and acts on all these problems it will be proved that government has done its duty in solving the most important problems of the untouchables.

Gentlemen, whatever problems that I wanted to discuss with you I have done so without any inhibition quite candidly. We all should start for doing our work unitedly. We should all come together unitedly under the banner of our leader and real savior Dr. Ambedkar Saheb and Dr. Solanki. We must have our ambition of removing our untouchability by fighting the Hindus and their Hindu religion. When we will start fighting the Varnasrama Dharma of the Hindus, Hindus by keeping the dead body of the Varnasrama Dharma in front of them will start making their efforts to sow the seeds of dissension among the communities of the untouchables. But we must defeat their efforts by fighting them unitedly. Brothers I thank you very much for hearing me with peace and tranquility.

Collection of Various Subjects

Resolutions Passed In The Conference Of Defence of Self-Respect - Madras

(1) Expression of happiness over the improvement of health of George 5th the king of England

(2) Expression of sorrow over the death of the ruler of princely state Panagal, shri S. R. Das and Lala Lajpat Rai

(3) Co-operation with Simon Commission

(4 A) Nobody should be treated as inferior or superior by birth. The Vedas, Puranas and other Hindu religious books regard man's status as birth based. Hence these should be rejected as unworthy.

(B) Varnasrama Dharma (religion) has divided Hindu society into divisions of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras and hence this dangerous Varnasrama must be rejected as inhuman. Therefore, either after or before our names caste indicating wards should not be attached. No sign of indicating caste should be used.

(C) For the progress of the nation and for establishing equality the practice of untouchability should be destroyed at the earliest. Hence touching the man or facing him etc. should not be regarded as sinful. From social or legal point of view nobody should be regarded as inferior or superior. In the same way everybody must have a right to use public water tanks and wells, caravanserais, temples, schools, roads etc. Everybody must exercise this right.

(D) The people of Brahmin caste are immensely benefited by the system of Varanasram and they stand strongly in support of Varna system. They stand in opposition to social reform. Therefore, the practice of Varna system must be nullified by law.

(E) Due to the policy of religious neutrality of the government the lower castes are suffering from injustice done by the higher castes. They meekly suffer in the use of their rights and this has harmed their progress. Therefore, the government should give up their policy of social and religious neutrality and help the cause of the progress of the non-Brahmins by supporting the laws of reform.

(5 A) The government should give the uncultivated land to the landless poor people and while giving the land the government should think of the people of untouchable communities first. This conference is of the opinion that while giving the land government should also give some monitory help as grants to improve the cultivation of land.

(B) The Government should be liberal enough to appoint untouchable members in government services.

(C) To improve the percentage of literacy among the untouchables and to bring them on par with others the government should render all possible help to them by providing food, clothes and books.

(6 A) women must have the right to inherit the property

along with men.

(B) The women must have the right to undertake any profession as men do.

(C) Women must be employed more in number particularly in primary schools.

(7 A) Nothing should be spent in temples and there should be no mediator between the deity and the devotee.

(B) Hereafter no new temples, universities, schools, caravanserais should be constructed. Similarly the income that we get now from these existing ones should be used to promote industrial education.

(C) Hereafter all the festivals that are organized as usual should be stopped and instead the exhibitions to improve the health condition should be exhibited.

(8 A) Age limit of marriage of women should be 16 years. The marriage below the age 16 years must be prevented.

(B) Without the consent of the bride and the bride-groom the marriage should not be fixed or arranged.

(C) The inter-caste marriages must be permitted and the law should be enacted to that extent.

(D) In Marriage ceremony or in any other festival minimum money and time should be spent and in a marriage not more than one meal should be served.

[9 A] Every boy and girl should be compulsorily given primary education in India.

[B] Public fund must be utilized on primary education and after that remaining money should be spent on industrial education and here the caste wise students in proportion to their population should be admitted.

[C] The public money should not be spent on propagating the Sanskrit and Hindi languages.

[D] The literature that promotes religions should not be used in schools or in any educational institutions.

[E] Physical and military education must be imparted in educational institutions.

[F] The literature that harms man's reasoning and self-respect must not be used in schools.

[10 A] Hotels and inns where caste practices are followed there the government should not issue the permission to run those hotels and inns.

(B) The railway officials should see that the caste practices are not followed in railway restaurants.

(11) To solve the difficulties of the Non-Brahmin students there should be a committee appointed by the education department.

(12) This movement of self-respect congratulates shri Ramswami Naikar for his services.

[13 A] As per the quantity of work that the worker does and considering his need minimum wages must be paid to him and also a share in the profit must also be paid to him.

[B] Sympathy towards the workers of south Indian railway who have gone on strike.

(13) Along with allopathic and Ayurvedic medicines other medicinal systems should also be promoted.

Nava Yug

17–3–29

Organization of Non-Brahmin Party

In non-Brahmin party of Bombay presidency a quarrel is going on between the Marathas and non-Marathas. It is likely that this quarrel will weaken the non-Brahmin party. In order to avoid this division a meeting was held in the Bombay palace of the ruler of Kolhapur, Rajaram Maharaj. In this meeting a committee of following members was appointed to suggest the remedy to avoid the division in Non-Brahmin party. The committee has to prepare its report by June end. The names of the members of the committee are:

Sir Raghunath Sabnis, Dr. Ambedkar, shri Acharekar, Rao Bahadur Bole and shri Asavale

Lokhitwadis' Letters
Number 12
Beggar

Among our people there are problems due to the wearing of pure and impure dresses. If a Brahmin is to go on tour how many problems he has to face. He has to carry the cloths and his utensils. Because he does not eat the food in other caste's utensils. In some places there are no caravanserais. Staying elsewhere involves the risk of theft. If stayed in somebody's house and his caste is different that is of no use. His help is also not useful. His touch is also not useful. Hence go to the river personaly and bring the water if it is needed more go again and bring the water. For a Brahmin his travelling in other area is very much problematic. Therefore, there should be a separate house specially constructed in each place with all facilities provided. But there are many difficulties because of the castes. However the travelers do not worry many times much about the problems. They carry their food from their home. If by chance some other caste man touch's they eat it as there is no other go far them. If the house is constructed for travelers all travelers will have to stay there only. Best way is that there should be a caravanserai in every place and arrangements should be made caste wise. Where the Brahman stays there the Kunabi or Maratha will not go and where the Kunabi stays there will not go the Mahar. These difficulties are there everywhere. These problems should be solved only tactfully. The Brahmans say that 10 Rs. profit in Poona is better than 50 Rs. profit in Bombay because in Bombay it is caste polluted. If a Brahman stays in Bombay he will say that he stayed in Bombay for 15 days and earned some profit but lost the purity of religion, drank the polluted water, touched the people of any caste and came in contact with gold smith and Prabhu caste. The Brahman says that at home one should observe purity and outside home sprinkle water and go ahead. Take bath and avoid hearing the words of Kunabi.

Look at the beggar. It is the religious duty to give him something. There are two categories of beggars. One group of beggars is represented by religious leaders and other group of beggars is represented by most poor, helpless and supported by none. The first beggars party is represented by Shastris, Pandits, Hardas, Puranic and Vedic Brahmans, Bhats, mendicants etc. in second party can be included blinds, crippled, diseased, most poor etc. Among the Hindus the charity is done by seeing the caste of a man. If a beggar belongs to the Mahar caste they will not touch him nor will they give water to him even while dying. When an animal like a cow or a bull dies the Brahmans will try to do something while dying but they will not do anything when a man of other caste is on death bed.

People distribute money to the Brahmans in marriages in hundreds and thousands. By doing this they think that they earn religious merit. This is the waste of money and the waste of time of so many. The Brahmans take money as Dakshina and do not do any religious work. No knowledge has grown by this, no learning is grown by this, no thought has grown by this, and no progress in industrial growth has been made by this. This is the expenditure incurred by the foolishness of the host and the money that is accepted only by the selfishness of the Brahmins.

This is only the promotion of laziness among the people in the name of the religion. These practices of feeding the Brahmins, giving Dana to them in the performance of rituals are merely the items of Brahmins income. These practices have continued from very ancient time. Brahmins are the leaders of these evil practices. Reform in them is not possible. It is the people that will have to reform themselves first and agitate for reforming the priests then only the selfish ways of the leaders can be reformed.

Self Introduction

Meeting of The Start Committee

Castes which are regarded as untouchables and criminals to enquiry into their condition a committee was appointed by the government and the meeting of the same committee was held at Belgaum on the ground of Sardars High School at Belgaum. The president of the committee Mr. Start did not attend the meeting due to his illness. Shri Panditappa Chikodi M.L.C presided over the meeting. The committee had prepared a questionnaire to gather the necessary information from the said communities. A sub-committee to gather the information asked in the questionnaire was appointed. The sub-committee has decided to collect the information selecting some villages from each administrative division.

"Untouchables Service Union"
Kurla

The untouchables public meeting was held on Sunday dated 17th March 1929 on the ground of swadeshi Mill. Shri Dattatray Vithal Pradhan presided. The prominent members that were present in the meeting were shri Devarao Vishnu Naik, Editor Samata Paper, shri Deshmukh M.A, shri B. V. Pradhan B.A, LLB and shri S. S. Gupte Bsc and the young members of Non-Brahmin organization were also present.

To bring about the religious and social progress of the untouchables this organization has been established. In this meeting the following working committee has been formed.

President – shri Maroti Bhanji Kavathekar,
Vice president – shri Siddhu Bapu Bhise,
Vithal Lehna & Sitaram Bageru Varpe,
General Secretary – Shri Shankar Krishnaji Chandorkar,
Additional secretary – shri Chindoba Punaji Kamble &
Krishna Keshav Kamble and
Other seven members.

To establish this association shri D. V. Pradhan, Devrao Naik and Yeshwantrao Godse made favourable speeches. Shri Krishnaji Vithal Bandal said that there is an association by name "Young Non-Brahmin Association." The organizers of that association should not forget that the eradication of untouchability is the main aim of this organization and this association is ready to help the just cause of the untouchables at any time. In the end shri Chandorkar proposed the vote of thanks and requested the members to be ready to help the organization.

Public Meeting of The Untouchables
At Mazgaon

On Tuesday 26th 1929 at 9 P.M in the evening there was organized a meeting in G.I.P railway chawl at Mazgaon under the chairmanship of shri D. V. Naik. In the meeting shri Pradhan, Gaikwad, Walavalkar, Kadam, Adarekar and Patavankar made their speeches tracing the need for organizing the people to struggle for the just cause of the untouchables.

(From our correspondent)

Social Conference of Untouchables of Belgaum District
News from Belgaum

On 23rd March 29 at Belgaum the above mentioned conference was organized. The well-known leader of the untouchable's shri Shitaram Namdev Shivatarkar presided over the conference. He was warmly welcomed when he arrived at Belgaum railway station on 22- 3 – 29 and was brought in procession by playing with band and other instruments of music to the place where he was lodged.

Second Day
Session 1st

President- Shitaram Namdeo Shivatarkar.

Welcome by- Devraya Ramrao Ingle.

On Saturday dated 23 – 3 – 29 the conference work began at 4 P.M in students Hostel Amrai Belgaum.

The subject committee had already prepared the draft of resolutions. On this occasion the members of the start committee- Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Solanki, shri Janvekar, Deshpande, Raosaheb Chikodi, Raosaheb Thorat and others like Marathe, Gajendra Gadkar, and Namgounda were also present. Konddev Kholvadikar, Dattopant Pawar, Dr.Rama

Kant Kamble, Yashwantrao Pol, Ramappa Kamble and Dharmanna Sambrani these untouchable leaders were also present.

(2) On this occasion the chairman of the reception committee made a very effective speech which was appreciated even by the learned touchables that were present there. Then shri Shivatarkar made his presidential speech which has been given elsewhere here. Then the tea was served. When all this was over the people most earnestly requested Dr. Ambedkar to address the gathering which was very much eager to hear him. He then addressed the gathering the gist of which is given below.

Mr. chairman Saheb and gentlemen, We have spent enough time in the meeting. It is likely to rain. Therefore I am going to make a small speech since you have urged for it. We organize meetings at various places, make speeches and pass resolutions. We invite big men and request them to make speeches. In my opinion this is not the way to abolish untouchability. Suppose we pass the resolution of injustice, atrocities and harassment done to us by the caste Hindus and send the same to the government will it be of any use? The government passes the resolutions that public tanks and wells, hotels, temples etc. are open to the untouchables by law will it be of any use if the law is not implemented? The officers should enforce these laws is one thing but bring these things in practice is another thing. If we are not in a position to take advantage of the legal provisions made by the government mere law is of no use.

Our untouchability must be eradicated by ourselves. And it cannot be done so unless we become strong and fearless. For this we will have to struggle much and if time demands we have to be tit for tat with the touchables. We must be ready for that. Our people are dependent on others. There is nothing wrong in it. Many people think that we have to live in co-operation with touchables. But the untouchables must remember that path of self-help alone will lead them towards their salvation.

Let there be any kind of man among the untouchables, let him be possessed of all virtues, let him be a learned man, all these qualities are worthless merely because he is born in the untouchable community. Therefore, in order to establish our rights we must adopt the aggressive policy in the attainment of our objective.

Another important remedy to end the injustice done to us is to acquire the governing power by us. We are now outside the frame of the system of Chatur Varna; if we want to break it and enter inside the frame of the Chatur Varna we must need political power in our hands. Without political power we will have no position in society. Why do the Brahmins have their upper hand to day in Maharashtra? The main reason of this is apart from other things they have political power in their hands.

Why the Brahmins in Maharashtra are so much powerful now days? I will tell you about this a famous historical story. Before the rise of Peshwa rule in Maharashtra, Balaji Vishwanath, the founder of Peshwa rule his Brahmin caste was a class of poor peoples lot. But as soon as they became power wielders they emerged as most powerful people. Today if the Brahmins are driven out of government services completely the Brahmins will be no where holding position in society. In other provinces of India Brahmins hold no important position. In Gujarat they are known as cooks and drawers of water. In Punjab and united provinces the Brahmins beg for cooked food like the Mahars and Mangs. In short what I would like to tell you is that only by taking aggressive position and acquiring political power the practice of untouchability can be removed. We will be equal with others only then.

With this I end my speech by thanking you for hearing my speech peacefully.

Shri Mane, shri Varale, Asode, Ingle etc. spoke on the resolutions passed in this conference. Shri Konddev Shriram Kholwadikar made a severe criticism on Hindu religion. He stated that Hinduism is most sinful religion in the world. It must either be destroyed or its sins must be washed away by reforming it. This religion has given opportunity to some and strangled the throats of some. It regards some as high and some as low. Some as honest some as dishonest some have been given complete religious freedom and some have been put under complete slavery perpetually. Some are made free to attain even their selfish gains and some are reduced to utter poverty. Thus Hinduism is a big ditch of filth and the Shastras (religious books) which support all this must be burnt to the ashes.

Similarly shri Pol (Dhor) of Kolhapur, Sambrani (Dhor) of Dharwad also made their speeches. The gist of their speeches is that:

The Dhors are leather workers and their profession is commercial (earning) one. But now days other upper caste men have usurped that profession. Now days many upper caste men go to foreign countries to take training in leather working profession and the government sends them abroad to receive the training. But the government has no interest in training our young men in this profession. We see now days many leather shops of the Brahmins in the cities. Even when they do this kind of professions which are considered as low still they are superior. When they are doing Chambhars profession why should they be ashamed of inter-dinning and inter-caste marriages? The Hinduism is the birth place of this discriminating thought and practice and it must be attacked to reform it.

Donation

The superintendent of Indumati student Boarding, Kolhapur, shri Vatarkar informs us that shri Sitaram Namdeo Shivatarkar Bombay gave donation of Rs. 5 to the above Boarding. The Boarding is run by the Chambhars of Kolhapur for Chambhar caste students.

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